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# NEW TIMES

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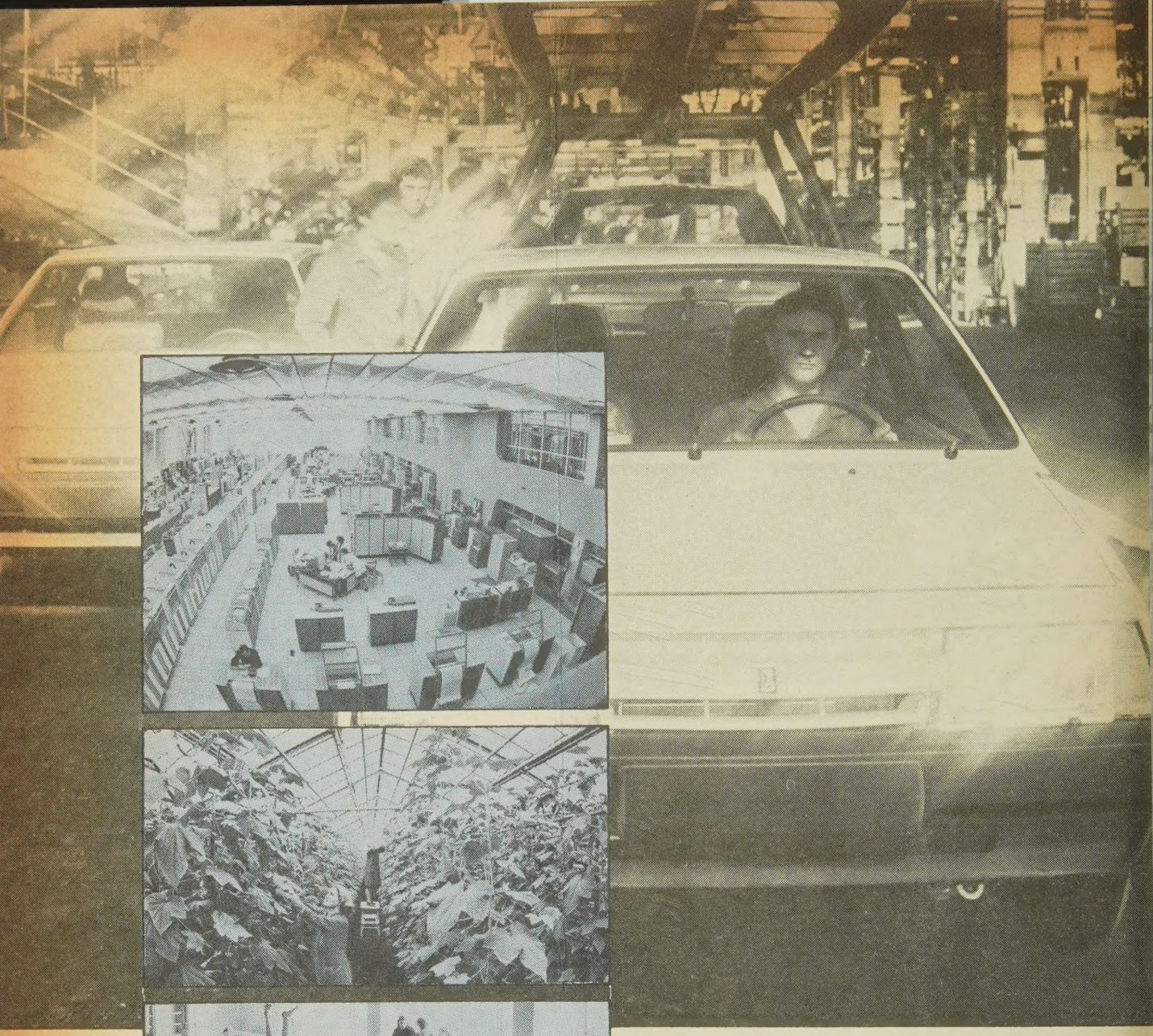





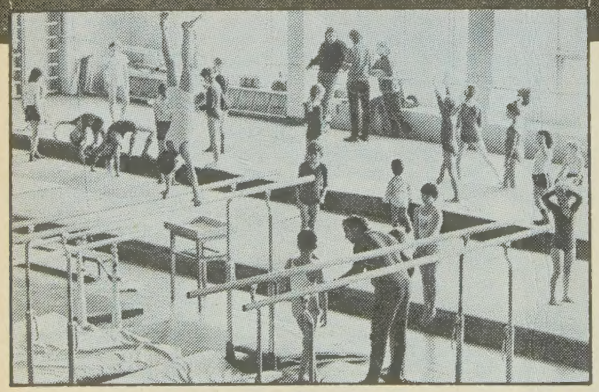

## THE SOVIET UNION IN PICTURES

For quite some time the Zhiguli has been an established feature of the Soviet motoring scene. Nor is it a newcomer on the city streets and highways of many other countries, where it is known by its other name—Lada. More than one third of the output of the Volga Auto Plant in Togliatti goes for export.

In the current five-year-plan period the Togliatti auto workers have set their sights on a substantial increase in output through higher productivity.

At present retooling is in full swing. Old equipment is being replaced by new and technology updated. The introduction of new automated production lines and wider use of robot technology will raise productivity, improve quality of output and—what is no less important in our time—relieve workers of heavy physical labour and monotonous work processes. Incentives to conscientious performance on the job and input-output analysis play no small role.

Alongside increased economic efficiency, improvement of the auto workers' living conditions is in the focus of attention. A good part of the plant's profit is spent on housing construction, and rest and recreation, including sports, facilities.

TASS photos

# DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

The threat of war hanging over the planet is closely interwoven with another grim reality--poverty and hunger in the developing countries, which account for the majority of the world's population.

True, some of these countries have made notable economic headway in recent years. But this applies only to a few. And what a price has had to be paid for it! The gulf between the developed and developing countries as regards living standards and quality of life is widening so rapidly that it cannot be bridged except by a radical change in the entire system of international economic relations.

Not only is this system based on neocolonialism, which drains the newly independent countries' lifeblood, among other things, by compelling them to incur fantastic debts. There is also a hidden mechanism at work here. How is the money the U.S. and its partners pump out of these countries spent? Primarily for military purposes. The Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans are in effect forced to finance their own enslavement. And perhaps even their own destruction, if the Pentagon adventurists risk unleashing a world war.

Ending arms build-up and going over to disarmament would not only reduce tension but would make funds available for the gradual extirpation of poverty and backwardness everywhere in the world. "Our slogan is 'disarmament for development,'" Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, welcoming the Angolan leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Moscow. This slogan is not an abstraction. It is an expression of our undeviating internationalist principles. The Soviet Union least of all seeks to impose "models" of development on anyone, as it is accused of doing by those who themselves are exerting every effort to implant systems alien to the developing countries. We stand for freedom for all, even the smallest country, to choose their own path of development. This meets the needs of the entire world community. For defusing the tense situation in the vast, turbulent, multifaceted Third World is in the fundamental interests of every nation.

Washington also realizes this, of course. Nevertheless, it has declined to take part in the coming international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. This fact speaks for itself. It prompts one to ask: what has happened to the conscience of those who deprive others of an opportunity to live a life worthy of human beings.

## FROM OUR MAILBAG

We have all seen the Reagan Administration maliciously detonate a nuclear device in Nevada, demolishing with it the world's hopes for an immediate nuclear test ban—a goal which the Soviet Union has been pursuing with persistent devotion. And now, as if that were not enough, the White House has perpetrated a cold-blooded, premeditated act of mass murder by attacking Libya. Nothing can excuse this act of butchery, nor can the U.S. Administration's lies that the attack was delivered on military targets hide the blood and destruction or stifle the cries of innocent women and children.

Eric MUELLER
Austin, U.S.A.

The item about the West German skinheads (in your issue No. 7) was most upsetting. True enough, you have only to enter a stadium to watch a football match, for example, to hear loudmouthed louts behind you shouting "Raise the flag, the SA's marching!" It's simply sickening. Anyone who wishes to regard this as a harmless prank may find himself in mortal danger. Fortunately, there are people who have long since become aware of the danger and are doing everything possible to fight it.

Georg RAAKE
Höingen, F.R.G.

Don't imagine that all those who said "yes" to NATO in the recent referendum in Spain are hostile to the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries. Most of them have merely been misled and disoriented by the directors of this performance staged after the Washington scenario. The Spanish people have no fear of the Soviet people. Millions of Spaniards did say "no" to NATO.

Manuel QUESTA
Basle, Switzerland

# NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

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COVER: Drawing by Pablo Picasso

Cosmonaut chief Vladimir SHATALOV says: "The recent feat by the crew of Soyuz T-15, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov, was not a stunt. The purpose was not to cause a sensation or set a new record..." Diagrams of the transfer drawn by first-ever space-walker Alexei LEONOV

## STATION-TO-STATION LEAP

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## Chernobyl: Facts and Anti-Facts

Readers' and foreign journalists' questions answered by U.S.S.R. Deputy Premier **Boris Shcherbina**, **Yuri Izrael**, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, his deputy **Yuri Sedunov**, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences **Evgeny Velikhov**, **Georgi Arbatov**, Member of the Academy, **Ivan Emelyanov**, Corresponding Member of the Academy, **Evgeny Vorobyov**, First Deputy Minister of Health of the U.S.S.R., **Hans Blix**, Director-General of IAEA, **Morris Rosen**, director of the IAEA atomic safety department, and **Rosalyn Yalow**, winner of the Nobel Prize for medicine.

See p. 8


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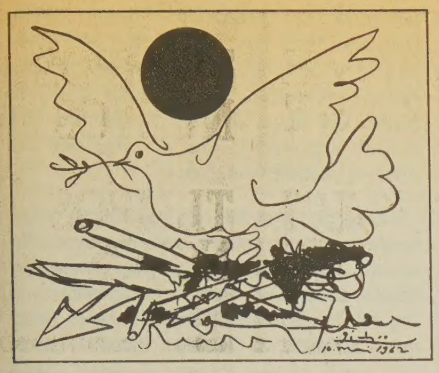

# Towards a Wider Peace Front

YURI ZHUKOV
Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee

It was with special interest, even, I would say, with great enthusiasm, that the Soviet delegation participated in the Sofia four-day session of the World Peace Council (WPC), which developed into a dynamic, businesslike, critical and impartial discussion of the forms and methods of the WPC's work. Heated debates started informally at 7 a.m. over breakfast in the restaurant of the comfortable Rodina Hotel, reached their peak at plenary sittings, in commissions, working groups and at all sorts of multilateral and bilateral meetings in the Palace of Congresses, and ended long after midnight in lobbies and hotel rooms.

To give the reader an idea of how intense the debates were, I shall cite just these figures: over those four days the plenary meetings, commissions and working groups were addressed by 570 delegates from 121 countries; these were not the general statements some international meetings have their share of, but self-critical analyses of the work done, and outlines of plans for the future, with an emphasis on the need to revise the forms and methods of our activities taking into account the current changes on the world scene.

The Bulgarian capital was unbelievably beautiful in late April, its gardens filled with lilac blossom and scarlet tulips basking in the brilliant summery sun. Proud chestnuts held their white candles high. Memories from 37 years ago came back to me: Paris had been bright and sunny in April 1949 when we first assembled in the Pleyel Hall, with the unforgettable Frédéric Joliot-Curie in the chair, to start the international peace movement.

The World Peace Council was founded in Warsaw a year later. It brought together all serious-minded people who realized the importance for the future of mankind of pooling the good will of nations desirous of promoting peace and good-neighbourly relations against the evil will of those who already then nurtured plans for nuclear war and wove the sinister web of military alliances.

We all take pride in the truly great achievements made by peace workers over the past decades under the leadership of the WPC, which drew hundreds of millions of people into the peace offensive. The unprecedented success of the famous Stockholm Appeal, which helped prevent the American General MacArthur from using atomic weapons in Korea; the effective campaign to stop the U.S. aggression against Vietnam; the victory of the movement against the deployment of neutron bombs in Europe—these and many other great achievements have gone down in history.

As early as the seventies, however, there emerged in the peace movement new processes and phenomena which called for a comprehensive analysis and new political and organizational approaches to the problems with which it was confronted. A complex dialectical process began to evolve in the peace movement.

On the one hand, the mounting danger of nuclear war brought to life a large number of organizations and groups which made their voices heard the world over. Millions of people, concerned for their own and their children's destinies who had previously kept aloof from the peace movement, took to the streets in the largest states of Western Europe and in America. They came to realize that today mankind's very existence hangs in the balance. These new forces play an important part in the campaign for peace.

On the other hand, one cannot fail to see that many in these movements and organizations lack experience of active politics. Frequently they have only dim notions of the motive forces in world development, and are not always clear as to who is responsible for the arms race. Furthermore, some of them are still under the influence of the cunning and mendacious propaganda of those opposed to peace and shun cooperation with the WPC. Why? Because capitalist propaganda pictures it as a tool of Soviet foreign policy. The idea is to scare all those who advocate disarmament but do not share our social views away from the WPC.

Under the circumstances, however, the World Peace Council has not only retained its lead in the peace movement, but is even steadily consolidating it. This is due to its persistent and purposeful action to remove the nuclear

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The Sofia session of the World Peace Council met at a crucial moment. Largely through the innovatory initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the prerequisites have been created for a radical improvement in the international situation. All peace movements welcome these initiatives, seeing them as an embodiment of their own demands. However, favourable prerequisites do not in themselves constitute a turn for the better. There is still an unprecedented threat hanging over the world, and consequently unprecedented efforts are required to remove it.

**ROMESH CHANDRA**
(From the report to the WPC session)

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**Tangible successes in the fight for peace can only be achieved given cooperation between all the forces working to preserve life on earth**

war danger and settle the local conflicts which flare up with increasing frequency and could well develop into a global conflict. It was not without reason that during its Sofia session the WPC received messages of greetings from the U.N. Secretary-General and the heads of over 20 governments and states.

Nevertheless, participants made it quite clear that at the present juncture tangible successes in the fight for peace can only be achieved given cooperation between all the forces working to preserve life on earth.

For all the aspersions cast by reactionary propaganda on the WPC, the Sofia session attracted many peace campaigners who had not previously been in contact with the World Peace Council. Today they have a pressing need for such contact, and many of the organizations which sent their representatives to Sofia therefore decided to join the WPC.

Let us pause and consider the reasons for this. Today, as Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his message to the Sofia session, it is no longer sufficient to want peace, to condemn the buildup of military potentials, or even merely to see whence the threat to mankind emanates. The need now is for action—persistent and purposeful action such as that in which the movements rallied around the World Peace Council are engaged. All peace forces must join hands in concerted action.

A vigorous campaign is being fought worldwide to assert a new approach in international politics, opposed at once to war and the use of nuclear weapons. Such an approach should proceed from the need for joint efforts on the part of all thinking people to create a comprehensive international security system. The work the WPC is doing in this respect, along with many other movements and organizations, promotes progress towards this objective. As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, it is adding to the powerful force of peace, reason and self-preservation which has emerged over the past few years. The sooner the world peace movement overcomes all the obstacles in its path, and disunity and prejudice in its ranks, the more efficiently it will build up this force and the more influence it will have on world development.

"The Sofia session of the World Peace Council met at a crucial moment," WPC president Romesh Chandra said in his report. "Largely through the innovatory initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the prerequisites have been created for a radical improvement in the international situation. All peace movements welcome these initiatives, seeing them as an embodiment of their own demands. However, favourable prerequisites do not in themselves constitute a turn for the better. There is still an unprecedented threat hanging over the world, and consequently unprecedented efforts are required to remove it."

Hence the session's concern for a radical improvement in the forms and methods of the activities of peace champions rallying around the WPC, as well as in the work of the Council's leading bodies, and for bringing it into conformity with the new international situation.

An all-round discussion culminated in the consensus that the peace workers' declared intentions, however good, could be realized only if the national peace movements and the World Peace Council radically changed their style of work, denounced formalism and complacency outright and adopted a new approach to cooperation with all anti-war movements. The leading bodies must enhance their efficiency.

Many participants—leaders of the American, Japanese and West European peace movements in particular—pointed out that opportunities for broadening the scope of their activities and enlisting the support of the broad masses were now greater than ever.

"The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives have given wide scope for our constructive work," said Johannes Pakaslahti, a leader of the widely representative public organization, the Peace Committee of Finland, unanimously elected WPC Secretary-General at the session. "We actively support them—not because they are Soviet, of course, but because they accord with our own wishes."

"Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals," said Hideo Fukuyama, president of the Japanese Peace Committee, "have opened up a new phase in the fight to eliminate nuclear weapons which we have been waging for years. The objectives are clear and understandable to all: to have scrapped all nuclear weapons on earth in fifteen years, prevent the militarization of outer space, eliminate chemical weapons and reduce so-called conventional arms. In Japan we have already collected 19 million signatures to a demand to abolish nuclear weapons."

"Our people have unanimously supported this demand," said Marilyn Olsson, a representative of the Swedish Peace Council, and new Secretary of the World Peace Council. "Mind you, many people in Sweden hadn't made too much of our Peace Council until quite recently. It is now headed by Lars Karlsson, ex-Archbishop of Stockholm, who enjoys nationwide popularity. [Incidentally, he sent a warm message of greetings to the session.—Y.Z.] We drew up an appeal demanding a complete ban on nuclear tests. It is based on a call our late Prime Minister Olof Palme made in an interview only a day before his tragic death. We quickly collected many signatures to the appeal. On donations, we published an advertisement in the Swedish paper Dagens Nyheter and New York Times. That foiled the conspiracy of silence in the Swedish capitalist press on the issue of banning nuclear tests.

Speeches by new members of the WPC—especially from countries that are still considered "blanks" on the map of the world peace movement—aroused strong emotion.

A representative from Sudan, for instance, told the session that many of his country's peace campaigners had languished in prison for 16 years. After the overthrow of the dictatorship, they have been released and are now determined to bring their views to the broad masses.

Participants applauded those who risk their lives working for peace underground. Representatives of the South Korean National Democratic Front and of Iranian peace campaigners, as well as delegates from other states where ruthless regimes still hold sway, told the session how they work and win over the sympathies of thousands upon thousands of people, despite bans and intimidation.

A great many delegates spoke about the enormous and as yet untapped resources of the peace campaign. "The workers' movement is to play a decisive role," Norbert Müller of the F.R.G. stressed. "It is becoming the core of the peace movement in our country. We can and must attract to the anti-war struggle more and more Social Democrats who have been increasingly joining it of late. This is evidenced by the fruitful results of the Socialist International's disarmament conference in Vienna last year."

Eduardo Nava Morales of Bolivia

levelled well-founded criticism at shortcomings in the information work of the WPC Secretariat and Information Centre which, in his opinion, does not meet present-day requirements. "People have no detailed knowledge of the essence of the disarmament problems," he said. "The enemies of peace take advantage of this and misrepresent these problems. Workers and peasants whose minds are poisoned by capitalist propaganda must be given lucid, easy-to-grasp and accurate information."

"The most important task is to reach the man in the street," said Yiannakis Potamitis, a member of the Secretariat of the Pancyprian Peace Council. "This man has a hard time earning his daily bread and is constantly afraid that tomorrow his children will have nothing to eat. It must be explained to him in plain terms that his bread is taken away from him by the arms race and that if he joins us we shall stop this madness together, and his children's lives will be saved."

"My country has a population of about 100 million," a representative of the Bangladeshi anti-war forces said, "and only seven peace committees. No more than a million people in Bangladesh have heard anything about the fight for peace at all. The task is to bring the truth to the remaining 99 million."

All the speeches at the session were informed with the idea that it is necessary to mobilize millions to the fight against the nuclear threat and to pool the efforts of all the organizations and movements that work for the survival of mankind, even those that are unfriendly towards us today.

Many concrete proposals were made and many new ideas that accord with the requirements of our times put forward. Important organizational measures were taken to help make them a reality. The WPC Secretariat was strengthened and made more geographically balanced. It was decided to restructure the WPC Bureau and make it the movement's main executive body. It will meet not once or twice a year as has hitherto been the case, but whenever the need arises to give in-depth study to an urgent problem. Furthermore, working groups of the WPC vice-presidents will be formed for the same purpose. Measures will be taken to liven up the work of the Information Centre.

**We have never been and never shall be neutral on the vital issues of war and peace**

* * *

It goes without saying that the front line of the fight for peace will not be extended to the detriment of the militancy, purposefulness and principles of the WPC-led peace movement. "We have never been and never shall be neutral on the vital issues of war and peace, and no one has the right to demand that we should not align ourselves with a policy of peace, reason and realism wherever it originates from," said the WPC president in his report, approved by the session. "We believe that the peace movement should be neither anti-American nor anti-Soviet—it should be anti-war, anti-nuclear and should, therefore, involve all mankind. In a genuine peace movement there are no opponents—only equal partners. There is room in it for all those who sincerely desire to preserve peace and life on earth."

This concept assumes special importance today when ever more people who cherish the cause of peace are taking part in the activities of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly. Incidentally, Alioune Samb of the Senegalese Peace Movement suggested that the U.N. be requested to prolong the Peace Year and make it a Peace Decade.

The world congress devoted to the International Year of Peace, which opens in Copenhagen on October 15, will certainly be this year's most important and widely representative international event. Preparations for the congress were of course discussed in Sofia, as the WPC takes part in the international preparatory group now working in the Danish capital.

The months to go before the congress opens will be crowded with practical actions by the peace movements. In the U.S.S.R. and some other countries mass activities had already been launched early in May. Their purpose is to demonstrate—in deeds rather than mere words—the peace fighters' determination to stop the arms race. There is no doubt that the search for new ways of achieving this great goal, started at the Sofia session, will be continued and intensified in the course of preparations for the congress. ■

## U.N. and U.S.

**How much does the United Nations cost! Its annual budget is close to $850 million. By way of comparison, less than the cost of a nuclear submarine, for instance.**

**And so, $850 million. Is that much or little! A mere bagatelle, the men in Washington hold, when it comes to building new submarines. Ruinous, they declare, when it is a matter of financing the normal functioning of a unique international organization whose purpose it is to preserve peace and security. From complaints they proceed to direct action: they arbitrarily cut by $70 million their annual contribution to the 1985 U.N. budget (at the present time it shows a deficit of $100 million). According to the U.S. draft federal budget for the 1987 fiscal year, the U.S. Administration intends to continue pursuing a limited budget policy with regard to the United Nations. The American legislators have already passed the so-called Kassebaum amendment providing for reducing the U.S. contribution to the U.N. budget from 25 to 20 per cent. Moreover, this was done, as was confirmed during the debate on the U.N. financial difficulties at the 40th session of the General Assembly, without the consultation with other member states called for in such cases by the U.N. Charter.**

**What is behind this extraordinary penny-pinching!**

**Alan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State for Administrational Organizations, said quite plainly that the object of the planned reductions is to bring about certain changes in the U.N. What irritates the White House most is the U.N. stand on limiting the arms buildup. At the 40th General Assembly session the U.S. supported only 9 of the 46 resolutions on disarmament put to the vote, voted against 27 times (in seven cases in splendid isolation) and abstained 10 times.**

**In other words, the "case of the $70 million" is an instance—camouflaged by lamentations over U.N. extravagance—of political blackmail of the international community with which Washington is finding it increasingly difficult to find a common language. It is a link in the neoglobalism doctrine.**

**G. BORISOVA**

**P.S. On May 7 the U.S.S.R. deposited $10 million to a special U.N. account as a voluntary contribution to help overcome its financial difficulties.**

# Outer Space: First Station-to-Station Transfer

VLADIMIR SHATALOV,
Pilot Cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R.,
Twice Hero of the Soviet Union,
Head of the Cosmonaut Training Programme

On May 6, the spaceship Soyuz T-15, having left the Mir station the day before, docked with the Salyut-7—Cosmos-1686 orbital complex. Cosmonauts Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov "jumped" from one orbital station to another. This experiment, the first of its kind, paves the way for still more rewarding space research.

The ideas of Konstantin Tsiolkovsky and Sergei Korolyov have materialized in a new practical achievement. In their works they dwelt at length on whole settlements being put into orbit round the earth. The two celebrated scientists visualized these settlements as consisting of individual dwellings whose inhabitants would communicate with each other. An orbital settlement would not necessarily be an integral whole. It could comprise a number of separate units.

In 1961, the year which saw the launching of the first manned spacecraft, Sergei Korolyov wrote that orbital stations would mark the intermediate stage in space exploration. He meant what later came to be known as long-term orbital stations. The stations were conceived as experimental and research bases (to be manned by cosmonauts, pilots, engineers, scientists and spacecraft maintenance men) from which to watch the earth, atmospheric phenomena and outer space.

At that time, of course, it was difficult to specify the entire range of possible uses for orbital stations. But the more space missions we undertook and the more experience we accumulated, the more obvious it became to us that orbital stations had truly unlimited potential. They could be used not only as observation and research facilities but also as orbital factories (to produce medicinal preparations or semiconducting crystals, for instance) and as construction sites on which even electric power stations could be assembled.

The scale of space exploration is growing from year to year. The number of satellites orbiting the earth already runs into hundreds. They relay television programmes, messages and facsimile transmissions worldwide. The satellites need regular maintenance and repairs. We already have some experience of repair work inside orbital stations.

Frankly, I always show with pride photographs of the orbital station Salyut-7 to visitors of Star Town. One pictures it fitted with three ordinary solar batteries as it looked immediately after being put into orbit. In the other one, taken several manned missions later, each battery is seen with two extra panels added to it. The difference is obvious. One cannot but feel proud that this job was done by cosmonauts in space, that they had been taught to do it at our cosmonaut training centre, and that our training facilities—aquatic and flying weightlessness-simulating laboratories—made it possible to practise all the operations involved in installing these structures in orbit, as well as to try out the tools, and optimize the techniques of battery assembly and deployment.

In short, the need to maintain space objects is becoming increasingly urgent. Consequently, we must accumulate the necessary experience. The two Soviet cosmonauts' flight from the orbital station Mir to Salyut-7 marks an important step in this direction.

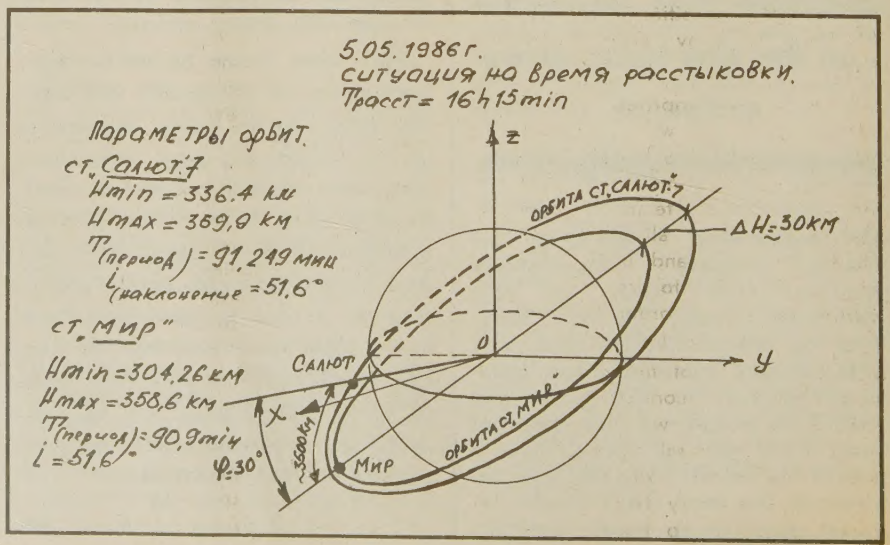
Having completed all the scheduled jobs on board the Mir station, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov got ready for the transfer flight, all the stages of which had been simulated at the cosmonaut training centre. Some of the devices carried by Salyut-7 had already completed their service life. Soyuz T-15 could not hold all the materials and equipment required for repairs, so we delivered them to the Mir station by means of the cargo ships Progress-25 and Progress-26. Besides the fuel required by the station itself, hundreds of kilos of supplies were also taken for Salyut-7. They were loaded into the orbital module of the spaceship Soyuz T-15, and transferred to the Salyut-7 station on May 6.

This was the first time a "space taxicab" had been used to carry materials from one intermediate base to another. Delivering them to Salyut-7 all the way from the earth would have cost much more. Besides, it would have taken a cargo ship with a carrying capacity of up to two tons to dispatch a few hundred kilos of cargo to the orbital station.

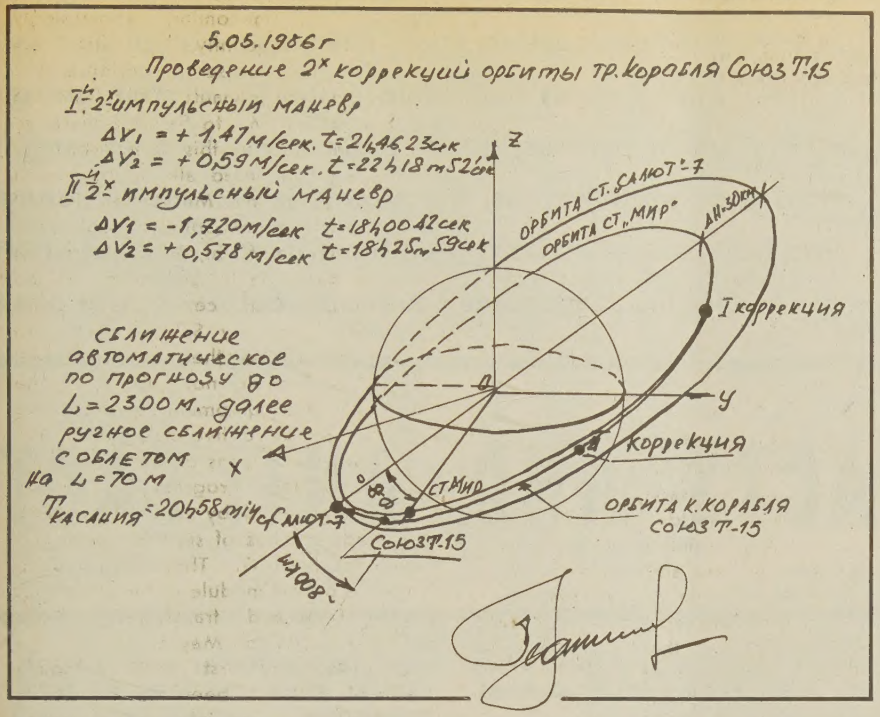
Now the crew can resume work where the previous one left off owing to Vladimir Vasyutin's illness (incidentally, Vasyutin has recovered and is studying at an academy).

I repeat that the transfer flight was both a practical necessity and an experiment. It makes it possible to

**Situation as of undocking time. Orbit parameters. Outer orbit of Salyut-7 station: minimum altitude—336.4 km, maximum altitude—369.9 km, orbit time—91.249 min, inclination angle—51.6°. Inner orbit of Mir station: minimum altitude—304.26 km, maximum altitude—358.6 km, orbit time—90.9 min, inclination angle—51.6°, distance between stations—3,500 km.**



**Outer orbit of Salyut-7 station. Inner orbit of Mir station. Automatic rendezvous to a distance of 2,300 m, further manually-controlled rendezvous, revolution at a distance of 70 m. Contact time—20 h 58 min. Distance between stations—800 km.**




execute various manoeuvres. Now we can not only fly from one station to another but also approach satellites and repair them in orbit. The Mir can be used as the base station with one or two transport ships constantly docked to it. The ships can be refuelled in space either by the "tanker" ship Progress or by the Mir which will serve as their filling station.

The time has come to deal with this matter in earnest. All our television and communication satellites are now in stationary orbits at an altitude of some 36,000 km. This is beyond the zone of intensive radiation which would not be altogether safe for crews that would venture flying through it. Such satellites can be repaired in space, however, having first been transferred to a lower orbit by means of a transport ship. A satellite can be reactivated by a "visiting team," of which the Kizim-Solovyov crew is the prototype.

It may be supposed that orbital station crews will subsequently be increased to comprise six and even twelve members. They will include permanent teams of repairmen equipped with all the necessary materials, spares and units. Manned ships will be able to draw close to the orbital stations in order to undergo repairs or pick up their products.

The technique of the recent inter-station flight is of considerable interest. The rendezvous was accomplished gradually, in several stages. While in autonomous flight, Soyuz T-15 corrected its trajectory twice. By retro-rocketing, the ship transferred to a lower orbit to pick up travel speed and (paradoxical as it may seem), come closer to Salyut-7. The crew managed to save about 30 per cent of the fuel the flight was to have consumed.

In this connection the question of multiple flights arises. By these we mean not only earth-space-earth shuttling but also inter-vehicular trips by "taxicabs" which make it possible for many crews to use sophisticated research equipment delivered into space. After the service life of a station's shell, for instance, has expired, all its onboard equipment can be transferred to another object for continued use. This is exactly the kind of efficiency the 27th CPSU Congress called for. The first-ever station-to-station flight is our concrete contribution to cheaper and more rewarding space research.

Kizim and Solovyov are proud and happy. Every cosmonaut dreams of blazing a new trail in space exploration. Indeed, on every space mission we do something no one has ever done before: carry out an ingenious repair job, build up solar battery panels or even, for example, disentangle ourselves from a telescope which has caught on the station. I happened to be the first to couple the Soyuz-4 and Soyuz-5 manned spaceships manually. No one had ever done this before. I was also the first to dock a spaceship (Soyuz-10) with an orbital station.

Kizim and Solovyov were the first to man the Mir station (which, we hope, will stay in space for a long time and be visited by many crews, international ones included). As has already been mentioned, this space duet accomplished the first-ever station-to-station flight and this called for a high standard of training and consummate skill. All the rendezvous operations involved were carried out manually, using the onboard electronic computer and optical instruments. Although the rendezvous path had been plotted at the ground control centre, which constantly transmitted its directions to orbit, the cosmonauts had quite a few problems to deal with, one of them being an extra load. This was impossible to simulate on earth as the exact weight of the equipment the cosmonauts would be carrying as they left the Mir could not be predicted accurately enough. In the course of the flight, however, ground control was ready with practical advice and warned the crew of the situations it was likely to find itself in.

The crew was supposed to have a good knowledge of two stations—Mir and Salyut-7—instead of one, as is usually the case. Therefore, we selected the most experienced spacemen who had flown on a 237-day mission on Salyut-7. They had to be "shown the ropes" of the Mir station as well, of course, which differs from Salyut-7 substantially in the arrangement of controls, design of equipment and many other features. The training programme involved, among other things, the crew participation in the pre-launching assembly of the Mir station and in its trials, as well as intensive workouts. All this stood the spacemen (who, incidentally, had between them logged a record-breaking total of nearly 24 hours of extra-vehicular activity) in good stead when they worked on board the Mir orbital station.

All those who have ever been on a space flight can understand how these space heroes felt. We at the ground control centre envied our friends. It is certainly interesting to plan and carry out cosmonaut training, form a crew and prepare it for a mission. All this is a great honour and a great responsibility, and all this—without undue modesty—gives us the right to take at least part of the credit for the achievement universally admired today. And yet I still wish I had taken part in that unique flight. ■

Since scientists first brought two half spheres of uranium together into a critical mass so much has been written and said about the consequences that could ensue if the atom got out of hand that we sometimes cannot believe anything so terrible could ever happen to us. But atomic misfortune did come, and from where it could least have been expected—from a peaceful civilian installation, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

# CHERNOBYL: FACTS AND ANTI-FACTS

**WE HAVE RECEIVED MANY LETTERS RELATING TO THE ACCIDENT AT CHERNOBYL FROM NEW TIMES READERS, ALSO FROM FELLOW-JOURNALISTS. BELOW SOVIET AND FOREIGN EXPERTS REPLY TO SOME OF THEIR QUESTIONS.**

**The U.S.S.R. very reluctantly reported the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. How can this be reconciled with the policy of openness of which Mr Gorbachev speaks?**

Robert Van der Stap, Holland

**GEORGI ARBATOV, Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Director of the Academy's Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies:**

I don't know what was expected of us. Such accidents result in high radioactivity and high temperatures. No one knows at once what the causes are, and it is essential first of all to think not of how to please the government of the United States or any other country, but of how to save people's lives, how to localize the consequences and evacuate the population from the danger zone. All allegations that the U.S.S.R. violated its commitments to the world public and acted irresponsibly are groundless. We live in a civilized world and are a civilized nation. After the Soviet government was informed of the situation at the station all the information available by that time (April 28) was conveyed to the governments of other countries. Subsequently official communiqués were published almost daily. The impression is that some quarters in the West are out to sensationalize what happened. This is what is being done by the slander-mongering Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe in their broadcasts beamed to the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania and other countries. They are engaged in a veritable psychological war with the object of sowing panic and distrust and creating an atmosphere of instability. We are against such activity.

**How was the evacuation of the population carried out?**

People's Daily World, U.S.A.

**BORIS SHCHERBINA, U.S.S.R. Deputy Premier:**

Between 2 p.m. and 4.20 p.m. on April 27 all 40,000 inhabitants of the city of Pripyat were taken beyond the bounds of the contaminated area (a 30-kilometre zone) and placed mostly in Kiev Region villages. The evacuation was planned so as to have buses drive up to every house. We mobilized all medical personnel. In the localities where people were taken medical posts were set up and specialized medical services (blood tests and distribution of iodine preparations) were organized. The evacuees are being given the necessary assistance, material assistance included, and are provided employment at their new place of residence. It has been decided to raise wage scales for people employed in these areas and to issue lump sum grants to families. The needy are provided clothing and household necessities free of charge. The day after the resettlement 90 per cent of the evacuated children went to school.

**According to press reports the station is now deserted. What is happening there?**

Maurice Guillot, France

**BORIS SHCHERBINA:**

At the three undamaged units 150 people are on duty around the clock. Work is going on also in the lower zone of the fourth, damaged, unit which is now in a damped down condition. Its upper part has been covered with more than 4,000 tons of protective materials.

**EVGENY VELIKHOV, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences:**

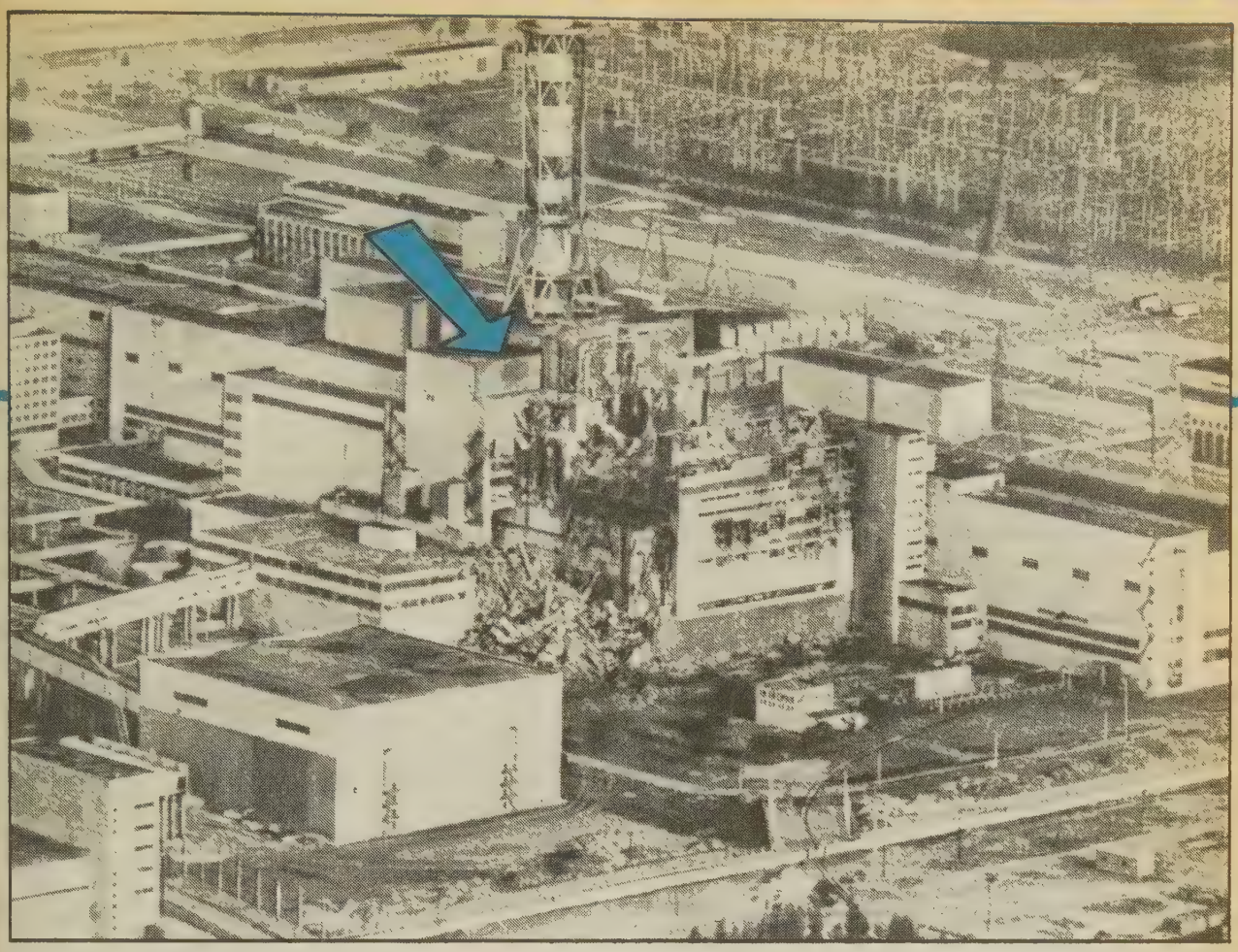
Theoretically, the possibility of a catastrophe existed until May 10. A large quantity of fuel and graphite in the reactor was still in an incandescent state. This is no longer so. Experts are tackling the decontamination and capsuling of all the radioactive substances. This is a guarantee that they will not get into subsoil waters. Meanwhile special work is underway in the extremely difficult conditions of high radioactivity inside the unit. Much is being done also by construction workers, who are freezing the soil and laying large quantities of concrete. The purpose is to "bury" the damaged reactor.

**What is meant by the radiation background?**

Sven Johansson, Sweden

**ROSALYN YALOW (U.S.A.), winner of the Nobel Prize for medicine:**

Radiation falls from the sky and rises from the ground. Granite buildings emit it as do the elements in human bodies. Like the wind and the rain, radiation is an inseparable part of our environment. One common source is cosmic rays from space. They are largely absorbed by the atmosphere, but exposure increases with elevation. For instance, when you fly from Europe to America you are subjected to more radiation than the population in the environs of Kiev, near which the atomic power



**How does the station look today?**

Nina Volkova, Novosibirsk, U.S.S.R.

In the centre of the photo above is the fourth unit of the power station where the accident happened. The arrow points to the demolished roof over the reactor through which helicopters poured sand, dolomite, lead, and other protective materials to reduce the radioactive discharge. By now this operation has been completed. It is planned to enclose the damaged unit in a solid concrete casing. A concrete floor will also be laid under the unit so as to completely seal it off from the earth. A special cooling system is to be installed to prevent any rise of temperature inside the casing as a result of natural radioactive fission.

Behind the fourth unit is the long generator hall for all of the units. Left of the fourth is the third unit, which, as you can see, was not damaged. In the foreground are storage facilities for liquid and solid waste, and on this side of the second unit, the laboratory block. Top right are pylons of the high-tension lines of the distributive system.

Work is now under way to decontaminate the territory of the station. The exteriors, including roofs, of the buildings, are being washed and the waste water channelled into special drains and from there into filtering installations. The same is to be done in the neighbouring settlement. The top soil in the danger zone is being removed and the entire area will be covered with concrete. When all this work has been completed the Chernobyl atomic power station will again go into operation.

station is located. Generally people receive annually as much radiation from natural sources as from an X-ray examination—up to 100 milliroentgens. Even the added dosage received by Western Europe as a result of the Chernobyl accident is relatively small.

The radiation background varies by locality. For instance, people living on the Atlantic coast of the U.S. are subjected to natural radiation amounting to about 65 milliroentgens a year, while for the inhabitants of Denver the figure is about 150. Nuclear installations increase the radiation dosage received by the average American by less than one milliroentgen annually. Incidentally, small doses are emitted by devices such as watches with luminous dials, airport X-ray scanners, electron microscopes, cardiac pacemakers and also some building materials. All this adds another 4-5 milliroentgens annually.

Last year the American College of Radiology published a report estimating that the risk of harm to the average patient from an X-ray examination is roughly the same as travelling 500 kilometres by car, or working ten days at a factory. However, to ascertain whether breast X-rays make for the appearance of cancer cells it would be necessary, in the opinion of experts, to observe at least 60 million women from the age of 35 until death. Needless to say, such a study would be far too costly.

**What does "damping" reactors mean?**

Sergei Fomin, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

**IVAN EMELYANOV, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences:**

It means cessation of the chain reaction, which was stopped automatically when the protective system went into operation and the reactor was under minimum load—200 megawatts.

**What is being done to reduce the discharge of radioactive substances into the atmosphere?**

Leon Grigoras, Romania

**MORRIS ROSEN (U.S.A.), director of the atomic safety department of the International Atomic Energy Agency:**

I was at the scene of the accident with an International Atomic Energy Agency delegation. The method of absorbing radiation with a shield of sand, boron, clay, dolomite and lead used by the Soviet experts within a brief space of time lowered the level of radioactivity in the 30-kilometre zone and made it possible to continue work in relays at the three other reactors to keep them in a safe, damped down condition. Indicative of the improvement of the radiation situation in the 30-kilometre zone is the fact that at the limits of the zone radiation dropped by May 5 to 2-3 milliroentgens, and by May 8 to 0.15 milliroentgens per hour, as compared with the peak radiation of 10-15 milliroentgens per hour at the time of the accident.

**I am a Scot, the father of six children. I am disquieted by the fact that the Soviet Union is not announcing the radiation level figures. In cases of such accidents the Americans release these statistics at once. My saying this does not mean that I am hostile to the Soviet Union. I am simply worried about the future....**

James Mackintosh, Britain

**GEORGI ARBATOV:**

The radiation level in Scotland, as far as I know, presents no threat to people's health. In Kiev it does not exceed the norm, though at the scene of the accident it was initially rather high. I know that our State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy constantly keeps the International Atomic Energy Agency informed, and from there the information is passed on to all the members of the organization. As regards your second remark, I would like to remind you that it took the U.S. authorities nearly two months to prepare a report on the accident at the Three Mile Island atomic power station and to submit it to the IAEA. The Americans and their allies demanded this of the U.S.S.R. literally on the day after the accident.

**YURI SEDUNOV, Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control:**

The April 26 accident caused no change in the natural radiation background in Moscow. In Chernobyl the level went up to 15 milliroentgens per hour. In Kiev at the time of the discharge radiation remained at the natural background level and only several days later, evidently owing to the south wind, it changed slightly. In Minsk there was no appreciable increase in the radiation level. The situation in Gomel is roughly the same as in Kiev. Regular tests are made of bodies of water, and specifically the Kiev reservoir. Here too the concentration of radioactive substances presents no danger.

**How is radiation injury manifested and what is the treatment? Has the Soviet Union accepted assistance from other countries?**

First Channel, F.R.G. Television; CBS Television Network (U.S.A.); Associated Press (U.S.A.), and the journal Neue Berliner Illustrierte (G.D.R.)

**EVGENY VOROBYOV, First Deputy Minister of Health of the U.S.S.R.:**

Radiation disease has been diagnosed in 204 cases of radiation injuries of different degrees, and the affected have been hospitalized. In these cases radioactive substances, mainly the shortlived iodine isotopes 131 and 132, entered the organism through the respiratory system. All of the sufferers have been sent to the best clinics where they are being given every possible medical assistance, including bone marrow transplants

**Radiation monitoring at the exit from the 30-km zone.**
TASS photo

and various kinds of antibiotics, in a word, the entire arsenal of means known to medicine. The American professors Robert Gale, a leading specialist in bone marrow transplantation, and Terasaki, the well-known immunologist, have come to the U.S.S.R. Radiation injuries primarily affect the capacity of the organism to resist infection. This is one of the main complications that has to be overcome. Professor Terasaki is highly experienced in this sphere. We are grateful to Professor Gale and Professor Terasaki for their active and effective participation.

**Is there any danger of the Dnieper and the Black Sea being contaminated?**

Jiri Plachetka, Czechoslovakia

**YURI IZRAEL, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control:**

We are keeping the situation under close control, taking

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**What lessons can we and all humanity draw from what happened? Why does this accident command so much attention among experts? What should the world community do to make atomic power engineering safer?**

**These questions put by a New Times correspondent were answered by HANS BLIX, Director-General of IAEA, after his return from the scene of the accident:**

We had frank and open talks with competent Soviet representatives. We obtained all the information available at the time from them and through personal observation on the spot. IAEA had received information from Moscow even before our arrival here, and had promptly circulated it among countries affiliated with the agency. Naturally, so far no one can precisely define the causes of the accident or evaluate all of its possible consequences. Experts will need time to pass final judgement. Responding to my request, our Soviet colleagues agreed to come to IAEA headquarters in Vienna as soon as conclusions have been arrived at in order to make a thorough analysis of what happened together with nuclear safety experts.

The Soviet Union is bearing the heaviest burden of the accident. In my opinion it is competently coping with the problems that arise. The situation at the atomic power station is under control. As regards Western Europe, the radiation level there does not exceed the permissible levels set by IAEA. Needless to say, it is up to each government to take whatever precautionary measures it finds necessary for psychological or other reasons.

samples every hour. The banks of the Pripyat River have been reinforced in the event of rain using peat to filter the water. Extensive work is being done to forestall all possible contingencies. It may not all be necessary. But after all it is a matter of ensuring safety. Hence it is better to do more than is absolutely necessary than to overlook something. No radioactive discharge has entered the Dnieper throughout its course, and the same of course applies to the Black Sea.

**Will the Soviet government pay compensation to neighbouring countries, in particular Poland, for the damage done to agriculture, and for the additional medical aid to children in connection with the consequences of the accident?**

George Kowalsky, Britain

**YURI SEDUNOV:**

The radiation level rose mainly in the immediate vicinity of the power station. As regards the spread of radioactive substances, there never was any direct threat to the population of the more distant areas of our country, not to speak of the population of other countries. In some countries a rise in the natural radiation background was registered. Up to May 1 this was to be observed in Poland, and after May 2, in Romania. But this did not last long, and it was insignificant and not high. The radiation level in territory adjoining the U.S.S.R. increased roughly fivefold as compared with the background radiation. The average radiation background is about 0.01 milliroentgens per hour. Yet, it is falsely claimed that Soviet export goods and means of transport present a danger. A number of West European countries have imposed restrictions on the import of food and other goods from the U.S.S.R. and some other European CMEA countries. I must emphasize that neither Soviet goods nor means of transport present any radiation hazard either to the population of our country or that of other countries. The foreign journalists who visited areas adjoining the contaminated zone on May 9 could see this for themselves. No increase in the radiation level in milk and other products has been registered. Incidentally, the other day British medical and radiological experts said that the slight increase recorded in radioactivity was no health hazard. The highest radioactivity level registered in milk in a part of Scotland was only one fifth of the permissible level, and in other parts the level, according to your own experts, was still lower.

**I planned to go on a trip to Scandinavian countries. But now I am afraid to go there. It is said that after this accident all Europeans will have to take iodine pills...**

B. Kent, U.S.A.

**From an official statement issued by the U.N. mission of Finland:**

At no time since the accident has the radiation level in Finland risen enough to warrant special measures to protect the population. In this connection the Finnish authorities want to emphasize that there are no grounds for limiting travel to Finland. In the north of the country the radiation level did not rise at all. According to the Finnish radiation and nuclear safety centre, in most parts of southern and central Finland the radiation level is roughly double the average background level. Now the situation has stabilized. A similar situation prevails in southern Sweden. The doubled level is 0.025 milliroentgens per hour. The level at which the population has to be warned is 20 milliroentgens per hour, and the level requiring a radiation alert is 200 milliroentgens per hour. Considering the concentration of radioactivity registered in milk, the National Board of Health does not consider it necessary to distribute iodine preparations. The use of iodine in food merely as a "precautionary measure" is not advisable inasmuch as many people are allergic to it and in large quantities it could have a harmful effect.

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The attention paid by experts to Chernobyl is understandable. This is the first time an incident at an atomic power station has had such consequences in terms of radioactivity. It is the first time irradiation has claimed victims and the environment has suffered. We still have a lot to learn from the experience of Chernobyl. It was agreed that the Soviet side would begin informing IAEA daily on the radiation level from a meteorological station situated 60 kilometres from the power station site, and from a number of other stations on the western border of the Soviet Union. We shall convey this information to the appropriate national agencies dealing with radiation safety. The agreement reached is part of the broader question of setting up a new international mechanism that would ensure timely warning of radioactive leaks. Regrettably, the sensation-prone press of some countries does not always perform a useful service, but sows panic and unwarranted fears. An objective and balanced approach is particularly necessary in situations such as the present.

You ask whether the game is worth the candle, whether atomic electric power stations should continue to be built. My reply is that all technical achievements are fraught with dangers. Progress demands, though not often, sacrifices. Nevertheless, mankind is not deterred by difficulties. It learns by its mistakes and eventually chooses that which is to its benefit. Remember the dead forests and poisoned lakes. They were the by-products of ordinary power development. Atomic power means less pollution of the biosphere. Of course, I am not referring to such extreme situations as the Chernobyl accident. It is not by chance that the communiqué we drew up with Soviet representatives notes that the U.S.S.R. will continue to carry out atomic power development plans. The same intention was voiced also by the leaders of the seven leading Western countries at their Tokyo conference.

Any accident at an atomic power station, in whatever country it may happen, is unquestionably an impediment to atomic power development. On the other hand, it is a lesson we must bear in mind for the future. In order that there should be fewer bitter lessons it is essential to coordinate efforts to make atomic electric power stations safer, to work out in the framework of IAEA measures limiting the possible consequences of accidents at such stations. One of the complicating factors is that atomic power development proceeds along different lines in different countries. Reactors are not built on identical principles. In the past ten years IAEA has worked out safety standards for atomic power stations. More than 60 relevant documents have already been drawn up. The organization also has a special system of aid in the event of accidents to countries that lack sufficient means and skilled personnel to cope with such emergencies. In the course of our meetings with Soviet experts, the question of introducing additional safeguards against accidents at nuclear installations was discussed. As I have already said, we have begun to work out a more efficient system of information.

I would say that the most important lesson of Chernobyl is this: in the nuclear sphere, more than in any other, people must learn from one another. Our interdependence is manifest here more than in anything else. To get the necessary machinery going is one of the tasks of IAEA, for the solution of which a pure atmosphere not polluted by the isotopes of enmity is needed in interstate relations. ■

NORWAY

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN OFFICE

The 13-hour debate in the Norwegian Storting on the reduction of subsidies for food and raising the tax on petrol ended in defeat for the ruling coalition. Prime Minister Kare Willoch submitted his resignation to the King.

The government crisis came on the heels of an unusually acute crisis on the labour market caused by the action of the Norwegian Employers Association, which replied to the demand of five trade unions for higher wages by a lockout of 120,000 factory and office workers in the leading branches of industry. Norway has not seen a conflict of such dimensions since 1931, the time of the Great Depression.

So long as income from the sale of oil and gas was quite high the austerity programme of the Willoch government did not evoke massive discontent. When oil prices dropped sharply, the Conservatives proposed reducing government expenditure and raising taxes at the same time. This meant that the main burden would fall on the working people.

Kare Willoch let it be understood that he would remain in charge only on his own conditions. But his packet of austerity measures did not get through parliament.

Since the Norwegian Constitution forbids the dissolution of parliament and the holding of new elections, on Friday May 9 Gro Harlem Brundtland, leader of the Norwegian Labour Party, after a five-year interval again formed a one-party minority government. The new government also advocates increasing taxation, but primarily at the expense of the wealthy. In foreign policy the NLP is critical of Reagan's "star wars" programme, the deployment in Western Europe of U.S. missiles (although in 1979 the Social Democrats, then in power, approved the decision) and stands for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. However, no one ventures to predict how consistent the new government will be in pursuit of this programme and how long it will be able to remain in power.

**Y. GUDKOV**
**Our Special Correspondent**
Stockholm

BANGLADESH

# FROM MILITARY RULE TO PARLIAMENT

The May 7 elections to the National Parliament of Bangladesh were unprecedented in the young republic's history for the intensity and drama with which they unfolded. This was not only due to the fact that 300 parliamentary seats were being contested by more than 1,500 candidates, standing on behalf of 28 political parties and independently. In some districts fierce rivalry erupted into outright violence involving considerable loss of life. Abuses came to light and the electoral commission was compelled to hold a new poll in 36 constituencies.

The fact that elections were possible at all was the result of a long political struggle between the administration, which took power following an army coup in March 1982, and the opposition, which represents a broad spectrum of political views—from the extreme right to the extreme left.

In 1984 and 1985 the military administration headed by Lieutenant-General Ershad set the date for the elections three times—only to cancel them each time because the opposition considered the election terms unacceptable. Finally, the ruling quarters were compelled to accept most of the opposition's demands. Political parties were legalized. Ministers who had decided to run for parliament were withdrawn from the government. President Ershad said he would not interfere in the election campaign. However, the opposition's main demand for the government to lift martial law was rejected. As a result, the elections were conducted with martial law in force, which gave the government forces certain advantages.

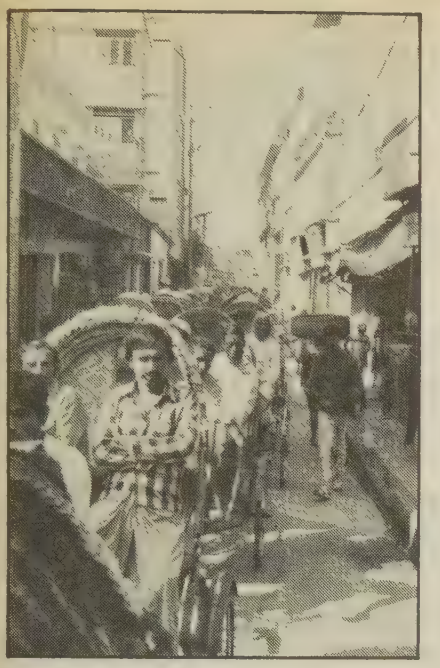
The chronic economic crisis, the aggravation of social contradictions, mass unemployment with almost every third able-bodied person out of work, a steady decline in the nation's living standard, low as it is—all this made the choice of leadership crucial for the republic's 48 million voters.

The National Party and the Awami League were the main contenders in the election.

The National Party was formed under the auspices of the military administration a mere four months before the elections. It is a motley conglomerate of various groupings—for the most part right-wing—who support General Ershad's line. The party has not so far distinguished itself in any way. It has proclaimed its ideals to be the independence and sovereignty of the country, Islamic values and respect for other religions, Bangladeshi nationalism, democracy and social progress. The party's candidates, backed by the military authorities, won in 132 of the 264 constituencies believed to have shown authentic election returns. The National Party is expected to win in some twenty more constituencies and, consequently, to get a majority in parliament.

Its chief rival, the Awami League, is one of the country's oldest and most influential political parties, having led the fight for the independence of Bangladesh. Despite the loss of its prominent leaders Mujibur Rahman, Tajuddin Ahmed and others who were killed during the reactionary coups in 1975, and a series of internal splits, the Awami League remains a major democratic force. Its adherence to the 1972 programme of radical socio-economic reforms and its anti-imperialist stand in foreign policy have won it popular support. The position of the Awami League, now headed by Hasina Wajed, Mujibur Rahman's daughter, has strengthened following her decision to contest the elections in alliance with seven other left-wing and democratic parties. So far the Awami League has won 70 seats.

The Nationalist Party could have been another favourite at the elections. A ruling party in the late seventies and early eighties, when its leader General Ziaur Rahman was President, it began to lose its influence after his assassination. Many of the Nationalist Party's authoritative members left it, for the



**Pedicabs still compete with motor vehicles in the streets of Dacca.**

TASS photo

most part to join the National Party. Court orders prohibited nine party leaders from running for parliament on account of abuses they had committed while holding ministerial posts. All these circumstances, combined with the inflexibility of its policy line, led the Nationalist Party (now headed by Khalida Rahman, Ziaur Rahman's widow) to the decision to boycott the elections.

The election campaign shed light on a number of new developments in the political situation. It has shown, in particular, that the mistrust of the left inculcated in the masses by the country's ruling quarters after 1975 is clearly dissipating.

The Communist Party, which put forward nine candidates under an agreement between eight left-wing and democratic parties, won five seats, one of which went to its General Secretary Mohammed Farhad. Communists will now sit in parliament for the first time in the young republic's history. The Communist Party owes its success to its vigorous defence of working people's vital interests, its determined fight for the complete restoration of democratic norms in the country, the strengthening of its independence and national sovereignty, and peace and equal cooperation among nations. Other left-wing parties—both factions of the National Awami Party, for instance, which won in seven constituencies—also did well.

At the same time, the extreme right is rampant in the country. Its standard-bearer—the religious-community Jamaat-i-Islami Party, supported by foreign Moslem fundamentalists—has won ten seats. It will be recalled that in 1971 the Jamaat-i-Islami Party was banned for acts of subversion against the country's independence.

Nevertheless, the intensification of anti-imperialist sentiments is a conspicuous feature of the current political situation in Bangladesh. The mass movement against attempts by imperialist powers, particularly the U.S., to subordinate the nation to their neocolonialist interests is gaining in scale. Manifestations of protest against the U.S. raid on Libya swept the country on the eve of the elections. Most of the 100-million-strong population of Bangladesh condemn Washington's adventurist policy.

The parliamentary elections have to some extent revealed the alignment of political forces in the country. At the same time their results have posed several questions, the chief of these being whether the new, civilian government will be able to ensure the political stability so essential to the further development of Bangladesh.

**V. PUCHKOV**

ISRAEL—U.S.A.

# SDI DEAL

Israel is now the third—after the F.R.G. and Britain—ally of the United States to take part in Strategic Defence Initiative. Itzhak Rabin and Caspar Weinberger signed an agreement to that effect on May 6 in Washington. As distinct from the others, Israel did not have to be persuaded to join the SDI programme. It had long been anxious to do so. As a matter of fact, agreement was reached in principle during the February visit to Tel Aviv of Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defence Initiative Organization. At that time the visitor acquainted himself with Israeli research in the military sphere. Although the contents of the agreement are kept secret it is generally known that Israel did have something to show the Pentagon. Electromagnetic guns, for example. But what interested the Pentagon most were compact laser installations developed in Israel. The CNN TV company reported that Tel Aviv had already turned over to Washington 30 technological projects. According to UPI, 29 Israeli companies are ready to accept American orders. The U.S. press reports that the Pentagon plans to conclude contracts with Israel for the development of components of space weapons to the value of $150 million at the first stage alone.

This is a tidy sum. But that is not the principal benefit Tel Aviv expects to derive from the deal. "We expect to do things within this research and development programme in the way that will help our own problems along," Rabin said on May 6. It is not difficult to guess what problems he referred to. According to the Washington Post, "Israel is more interested in adapting SDI technology to its conventional defence needs, chiefly shooting down missiles based in Syria."

All this at precisely the moment when threats of an attack on Syria are being publicly made! That preparations for such an attack should have coincided with the agreement on SDI is symptomatic. "The involvement of Israel in this programme," the Jordanian Al Ra'i newspaper says, "will only harden its obstinacy and arrogance, its refusal to consider any steps aimed at resolving the Palestinian problem and moving towards a just peace in the region."

**D. ZGERSKY**

SOUTH KOREA

# BLUE HOUSE UNDER SIEGE

Students from many Seoul colleges have held demonstrations; ten thousands of protesters have marched through the streets in Inchon, over 15,000, in Masan and 100,000, in Kwangju; a campaign to collect 10 million signatures to a petition demanding a revision of the repressive constitution is going on. These are just some of the ways in which the people of South Korea have recently expressed their opposition to the dictatorship. Their slogans are increasingly anti-American. "Down with U.S. Imperialism!" "End the Pro-American Chun Doo Hwan Dictatorship!" The authorities have responded with more reprisals. Dozens of protesters have been injured or taken into custody.

Under the circumstances, the 24 hours spent in Seoul by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who arrived there from Tokyo on May 7, can only be described as an emergency visit. He met with high-ranking government officials at the Blue House, residence of the dictator, President Chun Doo Hwan, and representatives of the opposition. The obvious purpose of the visit was to take some steam out of political confrontation in the south of the Korean peninsula lest Washington lose control there. Shultz tried, on the one hand, to placate the bourgeois opposition with promises that the regime would be made to see reason and, on the other, to restrain the dictator who is fast losing his grip on the situation. However, as leader of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party Kim Young Sam commented, "the visit ended in failure and only added to anti-American feeling in South Korea." It could not have been otherwise.

The head of the U.S. State Department said nothing of the glaring suppression of elementary civil liberties in South Korea, although over 700 political prisoners are known to languish in jails where they are subjected to torture. On the contrary, Washington is demanding that the Seoul administration take measures against the students, the most radical element in the opposition movement. They denounce the Pentagon's patronage of their country and oppose the stationing there of 40,000 American troops armed with a thousand nuclear warheads.

Alarmed by the enormous scale of the protest, the dictatorship can no longer rely entirely on force. Hence the propaganda gestures to the opposition. Early this May, Chun Doo Hwan agreed to consider an amendment to the constitution providing for direct presidential elections. Until now, the Blue House incumbents have been elected by an electoral college. Chun, however, made his concession contingent on a number of factors. In other words, the regime is trying to ease political tension at home by creating a semblance of readiness for reform.

A few minutes before George Shultz's meeting with Seoul's Foreign Minister Lee Won Kyung, a group of Americans appeared on the seventh floor of the South Korean Foreign Ministry accompanied by a police dog specially trained to nose out explosives. According to France-Presse, this shocked even South Korean officials accustomed to the antics of their Big Brother. "We are beginning to understand why anti-Americanism is heard in many places around the world," a Seoul paper commented. Better late than never.

**S. TIKHOMIROV**

**Protesters clash with police in Inchon.**
AP-TASS photo

SUDAN

# THE POLITICAL SCENE

A new Constitution for Sudan is to be drafted by the Constituent Assembly which opened at the beginning of May. The elections to the Assembly, in which five million voters participated, were held last month.

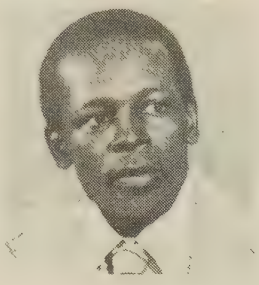
The biggest vote was polled by the right-bourgeois Al Umma Party, the political organization of the Ansar Moslem sect. This party has 99 seats in the Assembly. The next for number of seats (63) is the Democratic Unionist Party associated with the Khatmia Moslem sect. The National Islamic Front, the core of which is the ultra-right Moslem Brotherhood, obtained 51 seats. The Sudanese Communist Party has three.

The election victory thus went to the same traditional bourgeois parties that ruled the country prior to the coup staged by General Nimeiri 17 years ago. The Communist Party contested the elections under extremely adverse conditions. It was brutally suppressed under the dictatorship; its leaders, including its General Secretary, were executed in 1971, and in subsequent years it had to function clandestinely.

The elections did not extend to the whole of Sudan. There was no voting in 37 out of 68 districts in the south. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement, which heads the armed struggle of the southerners, boycotted the elections, being opposed to the policy of the transitional government that ruled the country after Nimeiri was overthrown.

The new Prime Minister is Saadiq el Mahdi, leader of the Al Umma Party. A Supreme Council has been formed to function as a collective head of state. Sayed Ahmed Ali El Mirghani, leader

# Jose Eduardo dos Santos: *Friendship Tested in Struggle*



**The official friendly visit to the Soviet Union of the Chairman of the MPLA-Party of Labour and President of the People's Republic of Angola Jose Eduardo dos Santos ended on May 10. Before his departure, the Angolan leader was interviewed for New Times by journalist Igor Potolsky in Tbilisi.**

**How would you evaluate the state of Soviet-Angolan relations and the prospect for their development?**

The purpose of our visit was to exchange opinions on bilateral cooperation in diverse fields and also on international issues. The cordial fraternal welcome we were accorded in Moscow testifies to the excellence of the relations between the MPLA-Party of Labour and the CPSU, between our peoples and governments. We had several meetings in the course of which a general assessment of our cooperation was made and ways and means of strengthening and extending that cooperation defined. We are satisfied with the results of our visit and believe that it will mark the beginning of a new stage in the consolidation of the friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the MPLA-Party of Labour and the CPSU, between the People's Republic of Angola and the U.S.S.R.

**How would you characterize the situation in southern Africa?**

In the south of the African continent the racist regime of South Africa, aided and abetted by some Western countries, continues its aggressive actions against Angola and other countries of the region. Namibia is still unlawfully occupied by South African troops. The South African authorities use its territory as a springboard of aggression against our country. We believe that Namibia must gain its independence as soon as possible on the basis of Security Council Resolution No. 435. If this were done the process of relaxation of tension in Africa could begin. I should like to stress at the same time that only the total abolition of the apartheid system can create the conditions for the emergence in southern Africa of a climate of peace and stability that would open the way to cooperation and mutual understanding for all the peoples of the region.

During the Moscow talks other problems relating to the complex situation in which the world community is living at the present time—in particular the situation in the Middle East and Central America—were also examined. Inasmuch as the foreign policy principles of the MPLA-Party of Labour coincide with the principles of Soviet foreign policy, identity of views was recorded on all the matters touched upon.

The modern world will survive only if the norms of relations between states are strictly observed. There is an imperative need for all mankind to join in a common effort to prevent war and nuclear catastrophe. We, therefore, support the constructive peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union. These initiatives do not always meet with the due understanding and this delays the ushering in of a new era—an era of peace and security on our planet.

**The 2nd Congress of the MPLA-Party of Labour, held in December last year, outlined a broad programme for the development of Angola. Could you say something about the prospects of this programme?**

The people of Angola, like the Soviet people, are working to build a society in which the dominants are progress, social well-being and peace. The Soviet Union is at present at the stage of developed socialism, in your country the foundations of a communist society are being laid. As for Angola, it has entered the period of national reconstruction. We are laying the groundwork for the gradual but final elimination of the exploitation of man by man. We are building a new society.

The Angolan people are a friend of the Soviet people. The friendship between them is traditional. It was tried and tested in the difficult period when our people were fighting for independence arms in hand.

After Moscow, the Angolan delegation visited Georgia. Here, too, we have been given a warm, fraternal reception. And we have seen for ourselves the truly outstanding achievements this republic has scored in the 65 years of its existence. ■

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of the Democratic Unionist Party, has been elected chairman of the council.

The new government is bound to encounter serious difficulties. There is the problem of southern Sudan, which if not solved peacefully will impede economic and social progress. In the course of the transitional period Sudan's foreign debt rose from 9 to 10 billion dollars, and no one knows where the means to cover it are to be found. The food situation, too, remains difficult.

The transitional period has ended and a parliamentary system has been restored. It should not be forgotten, however, that this system collapsed twice in the past. To ensure the stability of the new regime, it is held in local democratic circles, the unity of the forces that ousted Nimeiri must be preserved.

N. LEBEDEV

# THERE ARE FILMS AND FILMS...

## KAREN SILKWOOD vs. KERR-McGEE

New York, May 1985. I was walking in Manhattan with a New York Times reporter, discussing the film "Silkwood" which I had just seen. Based on real life, it was worth reflecting as to whether the story had more to do with the past or the present.

Meryl Streep as the heroine of the film "Silkwood."

Karen Silkwood was a lab technician at Kerr-McGee's plutonium factory in Crescent, Oklahoma. The corporation, incidentally, owns a quarter of all U.S. uranium reserves.

Karen loved her job. But one day she and other employees were made to work despite a radiation leak in which even protective clothing was of little use. Though overtime followed overtime, the management ignored safety regulations. It wanted quick economical results. This led Karen, as a trade union activist, to take issue with the company.

Crescent, Oklahoma, November 1974. Karen was driving along Highway 74 to meet New York Times reporter Drew Stephens. On the seat beside her was a file of papers and photographs that furnished proof of the corporation's complete disregard for the health and lives of its employees. She had only 20 miles to go before the evidence of Kerr-McGee's crimes became public knowledge.

She did not reach her destination. Her white Honda was reduced to a heap of twisted metal. The police dragged her body from beneath the wreckage and immediately pronounced it a "highway accident." The file, however, was missing.

Activists of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union instituted an independent inquiry into Karen's death. They concluded that she had been murdered. But the killers were never found. Kerr-McGee did all in its power to have the case closed as soon as possible. This in brief is the true story behind the film.

New York, May 1985. As we walked, the New York Times reporter unexpectedly indicated the building that houses the FBI's New York headquarters. Standing in front of the holy of holies of "domestic security," I heard more details about the Silkwood killing. FBI agents had shadowed her and other union activists at the Crescent plant. Their telephones were tapped around the clock and in this way the Kerr-McGee management learned of the existence of the "radioactive" file. Local reporters found that it also contained other hot data. It appeared that the company had "lost" some 20 kg of plutonium, which with the aid of the special services had been smuggled out and sold to a friendly country (evidently South Africa or Israel). Fearing possible exposure, Kerr-McGee's owners set up their own security service which they staffed with "retired" CIA, National Security Agency and FBI personnel. They planned the Silkwood car crash.

However, the case of "Silkwood vs. McGee" continues. The Karen Silkwood Foundation has been set up to award annual Silkwood prizes. One 1985 recipient is B. Levy, president of the association of contaminated victims at the Nevada nuclear test site. He was involved in building detonators but was sacked when he secured evidence that the authorities were falsifying data regarding the contamination of technical personnel. Another prize winner is Ch. Stokes, onetime engineer at the Diablo Canion plant in California, who was blacklisted after publicizing evidence of managerial infringements of safety regulations.

This month the U.S. Supreme Court decided to start a new inquiry into the case that Karen Silkwood's children had taken to court to demand compensation from Kerr-McGee. As for the corporation which the authorities patronize so heavily, last winter an accident occurred at one of its plants in Oklahoma, during which the discharge of highly toxic matter into the surrounding atmosphere killed an employee.

G. SIDOROVA

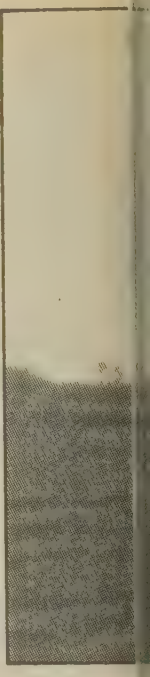
## COMMISSIONED BY THE CIA?

**"Sensational! The true story!" Italian newspapers cried recommending the new two-part TV film about the attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II. It was shown only a week after the court had acquitted the three Bulgarian nationals who for so long had been so persistently accused of a crime they never committed. Was it that the film makers really wanted to tell the truth about the conspiracy against socialist Bulgaria? Nothing of the sort. Though the film included sequences of the last few hearings, the commentary queried the verdict.**

**The adviser to the film was none other than U.S. journalist Claire Sterling who pioneered "the Bulgarian connection." She is portrayed as an adroit investigator, while the judicial investigator, Ilario Martella, is pictured as a courageous and incorruptible seeker after the truth. Meanwhile Grey Wolf killer Agca is presented as a man with a secret, which he cannot disclose as it is ostensibly "not his" secret and, as a true gentleman, he must keep his word.**

**However, the Italian authorities have banned the export of this scandalously provocative falsification evidently designed to make up for the ignominious failure of those who longed to discredit socialist Bulgaria.**

S. TSEPULIN



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From L'Humanité (France)

## HOPE!

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Y. BOCHKARYOV

# THE FINAL STEP

Last time they called their Operation Urgent Fury. It was with fury, certainly, that they bombed a hospital and tossed Grenadians into the sea from helicopters. The fury was real, though the urgency was not, as the invasion had been planned long before the night the President of the great land of America ordered U.S. troops onto this miniscule island. This is fury that rages at all who do not look up to America. This is the fury being felt by Nicaragua and Angola, Afghanistan and Libya, the fury now known as neoglobalism.

Having completed the "liberation" of Grenada in October 1983, the U.S. undertook to turn it into a democratic paradise in its own image. A couple of million dollars were spent on the election farce and the results garbled. Next, the authorities thus elected were helped to set up their own police, after which the two presidents, the Grenadian pro-American president and the U.S. President, serenely exchanged visits. But final, definitive step towards "democracy" in Grenada has been taken now, in May 1986. The Americans were invited to land again, this time for exercises, as true democracy is inconceivable without Pentagon bases or at least a temporary U.S. military presence.

So now 700 GIs plus 160 servicemen from Jamaica and other Caribbean states are reproducing Operation Urgent Fury, with mopping-up operations in the jungle in search of "guerrillas," meaning "disloyal" Grenadians. Meanwhile, the roar of helicopters in the skies above Saint George's intimates to the whole Caribbean region that America's global fury is not yet spent.

Gaily tramp the boots over this island paradise. Definitely a superb proving ground for democracy.

L. YELIN

# SITUATION NORMAL, PACKING OUR BAGS

**Paraguay is in the throes of an unprecedented political crisis, news agencies report from Asuncion. The domestic situation is normal, says Paraguayan Foreign Minister Augusto Saldivar, meeting American VIPs in Washington. Whom are we to believe?**

**Only recently, mass demonstrations rocked several major cities, including the capital. The police opened fire, brandished electric batons, tossed teargas grenades, and trained waterguns at the demonstrators. Some were killed, more were wounded, and many opposition figures have been arrested. But Saldivar claims everything is normal.**

**According to the Journal do Brasil, Washington is currently exploring a venue for replacing the odious 74-year-old dictator Stroessner with a "more respectable civilian" from amongst the ruling Colorado Party leadership. "Everything indicates that the corrupt, discredited regime is on its way out," another Brazilian newspaper, O Estado de São Paulo, concludes.**

**Evidently Stroessner himself, who has now been mauling Paraguay for 32 years, realizes this as, it is said, he is already packing his bags and transferring his ill-gotten gains abroad.**

A. BARYSHEV

**The dictator and his "democracy."**

From Panorama (Italy)

The imperialist-initiated arms race is a heavy drag on the world economy

# Billions Down the Drain

NIKOLAI GNEVUSHEV

Every country, directly or indirectly, is experiencing adverse economic consequences of the arms race. The vast resources squandered on arms buildup can and must be used for the development of newly free countries.

**According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), world military spending rose from $507 billion in 1975 to roughly $1,000 billion in 1985. That is almost twice the gross domestic product (GDP) of the whole of Africa, 83 per cent of that of Latin America, 72.5 per cent of that of young Asian states, and nearly 17 times the value of the entire official development aid programme.**

Yet the NATO countries are bent on further increasing their military spending. The Pentagon intends to spend about $2 trillion building up its military muscle over the next five years. The West German government has approved a programme to expand its armed forces up to the year 2000. Its cost will be about a trillion marks. Great Britain's 20-year military programme is estimated to cost £360 billion.

**A hundred million people on the planet are engaged in arms production; a quarter of the world's degree-holding scientists and engineers are engaged in military research and development, and between 5 and 10 per cent of the basic raw materials in the leading capitalist countries is used for military purposes.**

The arms race, by diverting enormous quantities of money, manpower, raw materials and other resources, narrows the investment base in civilian industries and acts as a brake on social and economic development.

Exactly what proportion of these resources—if military budgets were cut—could be channelled into development would depend on corresponding international agreements. But in any case the sum would run into billions of dollars, which is enough to solve many urgent problems facing newly independent countries.

**It has been estimated, for example, that a mere $8 billion a year would be enough to feed all the world's hungry (over half a billion people). It would take $22 billion to stamp out illiteracy and the most dangerous diseases. The cost of the manufacture of a single modern tank would pay for the building of schools for 30,000 children in developing countries.**

At present the world spends 5.5 per cent of its aggregate GDP on arms. The squandering of the results of social labour on such a vast and systematic basis cannot but have its consequences. The capitalist economy reacts to it with deepening crisis phenomena, growing inflation and monetary disarray. A large share of these economic woes is shouldered by the developing countries, which are the weaker side in the capitalist division of labour.

A cut in arms spending would reduce state budget deficits in many developed capitalist countries, and slow down inflation, which thrives on these deficits. The cost of imports to developing countries would not grow at such a fast rate. As things stand now, import prices are growing much faster than export prices, and inflation and a fall in the prices of raw materials have devoured the advantages gained by young states from the rise in these prices in the 1970s.

The whipping up of interest rates on credits, the result of the U.S. desire to attract foreign investment to finance its own military programmes, has meant more losses for Third World countries. In the early 1980s, developing countries borrowed from private banks at 11-12 per cent interest (in the 1970s, credits cost 0.8 per cent). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, they had to spend as much as a quarter of their export earnings to service debts and regularly reborrowed to meet current debt payments. As a result, their total indebtedness reached a trillion dollars in 1985.

In order to break out of the bondage of debt, the young states are trying to expand their exports to the industrialized capitalist countries. The arms race, however, compounds their difficulties. Modern military production requires fewer raw materials and manpower resources per unit of production than civilian industries. Thereby the demand for goods from developing countries is reduced. Numerous trade and political barriers are erected for their exports. According to some estimates, these countries lost $700 billion in the last two decades as a result of the West's protectionism.

The arms race also limits the amount of economic aid to the developing world. The share of "development aid" in the GDP of the industrial capitalist

countries went down from 0.38 per cent in 1982 to 0.36 per cent in the following years. More and more often the Western countries give aid from military and political considerations. Thus, of the $15 billion of American aid to foreign countries in 1986, the biggest amounts will go to Washington's allies, such as Israel and Pakistan. American aid programmes are in any case increasingly dominated by military supplies, which, according to the Christian Science Monitor, have risen from 25 to 43 per cent of the total U.S. aid under the present Administration.

Viewing the whole world in terms of confrontation with the U.S.S.R. and the other Warsaw Treaty countries, the United States and some of its NATO partners are trying to extend the geographical boundaries of their military and political influence. Arms supplies are an important instrument for this strategy.

By involving independent states in their strategy and inducing them to build up substantial arsenals of modern weaponry, the Western countries are bringing about a change in the balance of forces and upsetting regional stability. Under these circumstances nonaligned and peace-loving nations are having to look for donors of military aid and redistribute their already meagre resources to build up their defences. The arms race is thus setting off a chain reaction.

**The share of the developing countries in world arms spending has grown from 7.2 per cent in 1970 to 18 per cent in the mid-1980s. In 1984 they spent $117 billion on arms. The armies of the young states number 15 million, i.e., 60 per cent of all the world's servicemen. In recent years these countries have accounted for about 75 per cent of world arms imports.**

In many Third World countries military spending per capita is considerably higher than even in NATO countries. For example, in Saudi Arabia it amounts to $1,862, in Oman $1,012, Qatar $2,540, and Kuwait $693, as against $632 in the U.S., $434 in the F.R.G. and $492 in France.

In the poorest regions of the planet, where 95 per cent of the people are illiterate and where only one in three people can afford medical care, more than $320 million is spent daily for military purposes.

**The $117 billion the developing countries currently spend for military purposes could, according to expert estimates, finance the building of more than 300 thermal power stations with a capacity of 120,000 kilowatts each, 300 oil refineries, 1,000 chemical fertilizer plants, and 1,600 sugar refineries, which could meet most of the world's demand for sugar.**

Spurred on by the arms race unleashed by the West, some young states are building up their own military industry. While some 20 years ago this industry was practically nonexistent in the developing world, today 22 developing countries produce arms. Some Western economists maintain that the military industry in developing countries is the prime mover of progress. This is sheer nonsense. Experience shows that in states with a generally backward scientific and industrial base arms manufacture leads to the emergence of two industrial tiers: the military tier at the top and the civilian at the bottom. The adverse effect in these countries is compounded by the fact that new technology is used not to create a strong economic base for development, but to manufacture weapons, mostly under foreign licences, products that are useless for industry and consumption.

It should be noted that in the developing countries military spending means greater "lost opportunities" than in industrialized countries. For the weaker the economic and industrial base in a society, the heavier the actual burden of military expenditures even if they constitute an equal share of the GDP. According to Ruth Sivard, an economist from the United States, this burden is 3.4 times heavier for developing states than for industrialized ones.

The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America face the formidable tasks of eliminating backwardness, poverty, hunger and disease. That is why they badly need a normal climate in international relations. The interconnection between détente and development highlights the indivisibility of the modern world, the equal interest of all on the planet in averting a new world war and halting the senseless and wasteful arms race.

Even partial disarmament would enable many countries substantially to increase investment in civilian industries. The rate of economic growth would increase by at least 1-2 per cent, according to U.N. experts. Disarmament would also speed the solution of such global problems as the development of alternative sources of energy, the World Ocean, and providing everyone with food. New opportunities would appear to restructure the whole system of international economic relations and meet demands for a new world economic order. As it is, all this is being sacrificed to the military juggernaut.

The Soviet Union is calling for the release of the material resources now being wasted on the arms race, and for giving scope to man's boundless creative potential. This should form the basis of the policy of nations as the world enters the 21st century. The principle "armaments instead of development," imposed by militarism, should be replaced by its antithesis—disarmament for development.

■

# Present-Day Impressions

From Our Special Correspondent
VLADIMIR GODYNA

As the Chinese capital was swept by the chilling gusts of a cyclone, the people of Peking were warmed by the performances of the Byelorussian folk choir, the China Daily said. Watching the audience at one of their concerts, I involuntarily reflected that it was indeed people who were making the political climate.

The performers from Soviet Byelorussia put up at the same Hotel Qianmen where the outstanding Soviet ballet dancer Galina Ulanova had stayed during her guest tour 30 years previously. Today it is not only old newspaper and magazine clippings that tell us about her success: the grateful memory of people, which is far more important, is still alive. "We always remember that Soviet veteran dancers trained China's first generation of ballet dancers as well as the first generation of ballet teachers, instructors and choreographers," Li Chengxiang, head of China's Central Ballet Troupe, said.

The life stories of many Soviet and Chinese cultural workers intertwine, especially those of the older generation. We were introduced to a well-known composer, Wu Zuqiang, director of the Peking Conservatory. In the mid-1950s he studied in the Soviet Union and, still a conservatory student, arranged and performed for the first time the Uigur folk song "The Swallow."

"Great was my surprise when I heard my 'Swallow' performed by the Byelorussian artistes after almost 30 years," he told me.

During the Chinese tour (which took the company to Jinan and Qingdao, Shandong Province, as well as Peking) we heard from our hospitable hosts that the long "intermission" in relations between workers in the arts and culture in the two countries was over. The Chinese see this as one of the signs of a recent change for the better in Soviet-Chinese relations.

## View from the Small Fish Mountain

Qingdao lies on the shore of a picturesque bay, with ships in the harbour and villas dotted here and there on the slopes of green hills. Its architecture has obvious Gothic influences: German settlers—or colonialists, to be more precise—built the villas at the turn of the century.

Steep streets run down to the water like ships' gangways. Having climbed one of them to the top of the Small Fish Mountain and thence to the uppermost terrace of the pagoda at the top, one seems to have reached the clouds. A panorama of Lu Xin Park on the bay, the museum of marine life, Qingdao's main thoroughfare, Sun Yatsen Avenue, and the sea terminal is spread out below.

The port is the soul of the city. It is the fourth largest in China and handles 24 million tons of freight a year—this is considerable, as the country's main sea ports handle a total of about 300 million tons. The 44 ships based in Qingdao sail far away, linking it with 230 ports in 50 countries. Qingdao owes much of its dynamic growth to the port and its fleet.

Progress has been especially marked in recent years as the country has been working to make up for lost time. Economic growth has been so fast that there are some signs of "overheating" in the Chinese economic "machine": the Chinese press says that economic growth rates are too high, the material resources too scarce to support them and that the country has run up a deficit in foreign trade.

Different people in Qingdao told me that the most important and interesting events in the history of the city were yet to happen. What they meant was that Qingdao, along with 13 other Chinese ports, has been included in the "open doors" policy system. The choice is explained by the fact that

Qingdao is already a large port with a streamlined infrastructure. It is situated in Shandong Province, one of China's major export bases: in 1985 exports from the province were worth U.S. $2.65 billion, a 15 per cent rise over 1984. Shandong plants sell their products, mostly textiles and other consumer goods, to over 130 countries. Qingdao is making a tangible contribution to the expansion of exports, and it is there rather than in Jinan, the administrative centre of the province, that the main foreign trade offices are situated.

Several immediate tasks face Qingdao. One is to modernize industry, broaden direct economic and technological ties with other countries and import high technology. Another task is to establish a zone of economic and technological development which will incorporate research institutes and industries set up in cooperation with foreign businessmen or fully controlled by them. A site measuring 15 sq. km. has been set aside for that zone, which is expected to give fresh impetus to scientific and technological progress in Shandong Province, primarily in Qingdao itself. Yet another goal is to boost tourism and set up new tourist centres, including international tourist zones in the Xuejiaodao and Shilaoren suburbs.

## The Potter's Wheel of Zibo

Zibo, a satellite of Jinan, is far smaller in size and population than Qingdao, yet its fame as a china-making centre has spread far beyond the frontiers of the country.

"Would you like to see how strong our china is?" Ren Zhixue, head of the earthenware corporation, asked me. I hastily declined the offer, fearing for the fragile wares, but the fact is that the elegant cups and plates withstand a pressure of 1,500 kg. per sq. cm. Moreover, they are ovenproof and can be used to heat food.

"How do we do this?" Ren Zhixue echoes my question. "Merely by adding talcum and other components. And the raw materials are local."

I learned that the discovery had been made in 1976, a recent one when you consider that clay began to be fired and glazed in these parts 4,000-5,000 years ago.

"Before the revolution our craftsmen made mostly earthenware but under people's rule the interest in china was revived," Ren Zhixue told me. "The Song and Ming styles are especially popular."

"What else is new in your business?" I asked.

"I would say, engraved china," Ren replied. "Our craftsmen adorn the fired products with a fine engraving, done with special diamond and steel cutters. There are landscapes, scenes and still life. We also take account of contemporary tastes, especially in our goods for export, which represent a third of our output."

"And your output?"

"Two billion 30 million china and earthenware products. They go to more than 70 countries."

The Zibo china works is run by the state but there are also cooperative and private businesses in the country. Most of them are outside big cities and are considered rural industries. They are small factories, truck pools, and also services. Since a new agrarian policy was introduced in China in 1979, the rural industries have been making great strides.

Chen Wenqing, a Shandong farmer, and his family engage both in handicrafts and traditional farming pursuits, as did their ancestors over the centuries. In 1984 the family earned 850 yuans from farming, not much, and 6,700 yuans from handicrafts. Though considered subsidiary, crafts generate the bulk of the incomes of many Chinese families today. The Chen family have bought a colour TV set and two bikes, symbols of prosperity in the Chinese village. Rural industries have absorbed much of the surplus labour in the countryside.

## An Interview in Qianmen Street

It would not be to exaggerate greatly to say that China's rural industries are booming: by the end of 1985 they employed 60 million and their total output came to more than 230 billion yuans, almost 20 per cent of the country's industrial and farming production.

Yet the most striking phenomenon is the rise in living standards of the rural population. According to official figures, last year the per capita income in the countryside was 400 yuans, an increase of 45 yuans over 1984. These are averages, of course, and the living standards of the 800-million farming population are rising unevenly. The Chinese press even discusses "property stratification" and other problems.

The proprietress of a small shop in Qianmen Street in the Chinese capital was polite and friendly. We discussed private trade and services in general (there are 11,220,000 such retail outlets and services in China today) and, naturally, her own shop, a mere 10 sq. m. of floor space. I saw digital wristwatches, lighters and other trinkets in a display case, and trousers, jackets and windcheaters on the racks on the left and right and along the entire back wall. Our talk was long and, when I asked the main question—if it was profitable to keep a shop—the answer was yes.

There are such shops everywhere in China today, and also restaurants, snack bars and tailors'. The government encourages private enterprise as a substantial addition to public trade and services. Most private businesses are concentrated in the services: there are restaurants, tailoring and repair shops, small hotels, building companies and handicrafts. The total taxes paid by private proprietors to the state between 1981 and 1984 amounted to 4.2 billion yuans (about U.S. $1.5 billion) and the total private sector turnover to 24.5 billion yuans. Investment in the private sector has reached 17 billion yuans. The latter figure is obviously an underestimate, says Wang Zhongming, head of the private sector department of the State Board of Industry and Commerce. He believes private proprietors are trying to conceal the real size of their investment and their real incomes from the authorities to avoid taxation.

In some cases they inflate prices on their goods or try to buy cheap from farmers and resell at a profit. Wang Zhongming told me that China had a mere 6,000 inspectors to supervise the private sector. This year another 100,000 are to be employed, but even then, according to him, many private businesses will remain outside effective control by the state.

* * *

The Soviet performers left China at the end of their tour on a bright, sunny day, a welcome break after a spell of bad weather. I thought it a good sign: summer was coming, fair weather for Soviet-Chinese cooperation, which has immense potential.

Peking — Shandong — Moscow

**Some 200 xylographic copies of works by outstanding Chinese artists are being shown at present in the Moscow State Museum of Oriental Arts at an exhibition of "Modern Chinese Xylographs and Books on Art." Here are two of the exhibits.**

A serious setback for the Tories in this month's elections. Loss of independence in foreign affairs. That is

# The Price of the "Special Relationship"

MIKHAIL BOGDANOV

In the May 8 local elections and also in by-elections in two constituencies—West Derbyshire and Ryedale (North Yorkshire)—the ruling Conservative Party was dealt serious defeats. In the opinion of local commentators, the electorate above all expressed its discontent with the Tory cabinet's decision to allow the United States to use its bases in Britain for the raid on Libya. Public opinion polls show that seven out of ten Britishers consider the decision as running counter to the country's national interests.

The Conservative reverses in the May elections as well as in the by-elections held a month earlier testify to deep-going changes in the public mood.

It would appear that after seven years of Conservative dominance on the British political scene luck is beginning to turn against Margaret Thatcher and her party.

Can this be called a crisis? Unquestionably. But its causes are somewhat unusual. As a rule, crises of confidence in one or another cabinet have been associated mainly with domestic political factors. This time the public dissatisfaction stems from the crude orientation of Tory policy on the "American cousin."

In the past ten years the traditional British emphasis on the "special relationship" with the U.S. ran parallel with the integration of Britain into the European Economic Community. And the positions and attitudes of the West European countries, as is known, are by no means identical with America's. Approaches to the solution of economic problems differ, the "steel" and "farm" wars are not abating, and there are significant differences as regards East-West relations and policies towards the developing countries. Lastly, the West European arms manufacturers are irked by the 7-to-1 advantage their American counterparts have in the arms trade.

In recent years Britain, even though it keeps its eye on the U.S., has been increasingly involved in economic, political and even military cooperation within the framework of the EEC, the Western European Union, and the Independent European Programme Group. In 1982 economic considerations, and also its striving for leadership in the EEC, prompted Britain to adopt a "pro-European" position in the dispute with the U.S. as regards participation in the construction of the Soviet West Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline. And now, in a fit of "European enthusiasm" the Thatcher government has actively joined in the French Eureka project. British war industries are involved in the production or development of the Tornado and Jaguar planes, the Puma and Gazelle helicopters, the Martel and Milan missiles, and other military equipment being developed on a European basis without the participation of American corporations.

Even in the military-political sphere, despite the deployment of the U.S. cruise missiles in Britain and the traditionally anti-Soviet emphasis in British policy, in the period from 1983 to the beginning of 1985 the Tory government sought to play in the world and European arenas a role more independent of the U.S. The catalyst in this process was, among other things, public opposition in Britain to the U.S. aggression against Grenada in October 1983. The Grenada events were a reminder that there are times when Western Europe should have an independent voice even in relation to its closest allies, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe said.

However, unquestionably the most important result of the shift towards "West European realism" was the emergence of the prospect of an improvement in Soviet-British relations. At times it seemed that the British striving to promote contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was due to an interest on London's part in the revival of the process of détente.

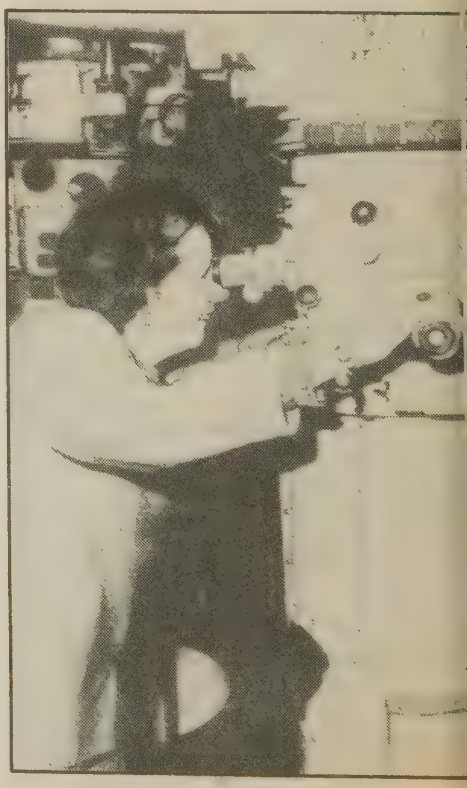
Britain's inclination towards "Europeanism" was regarded in Washington as posturing impermissible for a junior partner. The powerful pro-Atlantic lobby in the British Isles also objected. After all, the Atlanticists reasoned, the U.S. ensures Britain's membership of the nuclear club. Without close ties with the U.S., what would Britain have to fall back on in its efforts to gain the leadership in the EEC? Hence, it was argued, the "special relationship" with the U.S. should be cultivated in every way, even at times to the detriment of Britain's own interests.

Despite the "Europeanism" she widely propounded, Margaret Thatcher, by her own admission, always inclined to be pro-American, and this tendency gained the upper hand in British foreign policy. The British press qualifies her as a fervent admirer of President Reagan, whose ideological postulates, primarily his diehard anti-communism, she shares. In collisions between different tendencies in British policy the intervention of the Prime Minister has often decided the outcome in favour of the U.S.

In mid-1985, in face of the "European" wind in Britain's political and economic

**The British Prime Minister at the periscope of a submarine. Steering the course set by the "American cousin."**

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)



sails, the Tory government proceeded more vigorously to steer an Atlanticist course. In September last year a major act of provocation against Soviet representatives in London caused severe damage to Soviet-British relations. At the end of the year Britain, forgetting all of its previous objections to SDI, announced that it was joining in "star wars" research. Following in the wake of the United States, Britain also walked out of UNESCO. Lastly, at the beginning of this year the Thatcher government rejected out of hand a series of Soviet peace initiatives aimed at the prohibition of nuclear tests and the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons. The Prime Minister said she could not visualize a world without nuclear weapons, and Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, as if to make amends to the U.S. Administration for his criticism of SDI last year, said that Reagan's decision to develop space weapons "bears the hallmark of statesmanship." In April this year Britain was the only one of America's European allies to give unconditional support to the American attack on Libya. At the May meeting of the Seven in Tokyo Prime Minister Thatcher spoke in unison with President Reagan.

The pro-American orientation has made itself felt in the economic sphere as well. All last winter the British Isles were rocked by the Westland scandal. Essentially the issue was a simple one—to whom to sell the small Westland helicopter firm, to the American Sikorsky firm, or a West European concern. The government made sure the Americans got it. However, the behind-the-scenes machinations of Trade and Industry Secretary Leon Brittan, who acted with the consent of the Prime Minister, emerged into the light of day. The Minister had to resign, and the government had to pay for its politicking with a further drop in popularity.

No sooner had passions over the Westland deal subsided than information percolated into the press that the government was planning to transfer the nationalized British Leyland and Austin Rover enterprises under the control of the American General Motors and Ford corporations. Thus, even the little that is left today of the British motorcar industry could have passed not simply into private, but into American hands. That was a bit too much. The camp of the discontented was joined even by a large group of Tory MPs, and the Prime Minister had to retreat.

It is not surprising then that, as public opinion polls show, the majority of the British public object to Britain's inordinate dependence on the United States in such spheres as industry (56 per cent of the polled), defence (67 per cent), and even television (59 per cent).

While working in London, this writer gained the impression that the British are extremely pragmatic. The Tory government has made skilful use of this trait to persuade the public that "British national interests" are its prime concern. It is on this plea that Margaret Thatcher is always making a fuss in the EEC over Britain's not at all inordinate contributions to the Community budget. National interests were also invoked when Britain entered in 1982 into the armed conflict with Argentina that cost nearly as many lives as the total number of British subjects living in the Falklands. However, in what is most important the Tories follow Washington's lead. It was this pro-Americanism that resulted in their poor showing at the polls.

It would unquestionably be a mistake to attribute the crisis of confidence facing the Conservatives only to their pro-American policy. Social and economic problems, which have grown more acute in the past few years, have played their part too. Nevertheless, it can be said with a sufficient degree of certainty that unconditional trailing in the wake of the U.S. in the choice of Britain's political and economic orientation was the last drop that caused the British public's cup of patience to overflow. ■

## WITH A GENERAL ELECTION LOOMING...

**The setbacks suffered by the Conservatives in the local elections are a logical result of the continuing decline of the popularity of the Tory Party and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher personally. At the height of the Westland scandal in February, the weekly New Statesman observed: "For the first time since 1983 the realization has dawned that the Tories could very well lose the next election for themselves." The press began speculating about the Prime Minister's early resignation, and possible successors were named—Conservative Party Chairman Norman Tebbit, Energy Secretary Peter Walker, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, and even former Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine.**

**Nevertheless, it is too early to write Margaret Thatcher off. She is firmly enough in control of the party machinery and the parliamentary Conservative Party, and she has emphatically declared her intention to lead the party to the polls in the next election, which is to take place no later than the summer of 1988.**

**In the opinion of observers, the present crisis of confidence in the Conservative Party has most of all benefited the Liberals and the Social Democrats, whose centrist policy is supported by a growing number of defectors from the Tory camp. Irrespective of whether the Liberal-Social Democrat alliance will be able to win a substantial number of seats in Parliament, it is becoming a tangible "third force" in the domestic political arena.**

**The opposition Labour Party has strengthened its position to some extent. Under the leadership of the energetic Neil Kinnock it is gradually gaining the ground it lost in the 1983 election. As a result of vigorous activity on the part of the left wing, the Labour programme is progressive in character, especially as regards foreign and defence policies, in which spheres it envisages renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain and the dismantling of the U.S. nuclear bases on British territory. Labour's anti-nuclear plans are meeting with frenzied resistance on the part of its right wing, the capitalist mass media, and, of course, the transatlantic allies.**

**The question is whether Labour, in the event of its entry into government, will be able to carry out its programme. It has happened more than once in the past that Labour Party leaders, once installed in ministerial posts, have forgotten their election promises.**

# That Senseless and Terrible War

MIKHAIL KRUTIKHIN

This war, which has now been going on unabated for five and a half years, gets relatively extensive media coverage only when fighting intensifies. Western TV companies, radio stations, newspapers and magazines have all but lost interest in it. Yet the Gulf zone remains a hot spot of the planet. Furthermore, U.S. imperialist intervention in the area might occur at any moment. It is not for nothing that Iran and Iraq come immediately after Libya in the U.S. leaders' hit list of "pockets of terrorism" in for "retaliatory" or "preventive" strikes.

A recent development at the front was the end-of-April fight over some heights in the mountainous northeastern section of the Iran-Iraq border. The fight was rather of local significance, the situation in the theatre as a whole being determined so far by the results of two major Iranian operations code-named Wal-Fajr ("May There Be Dawn") 8 and 9. In the course of Operation Wal-Fajr 8, launched in February, Iranian troops assault-crossed the Shatt al Arab River and seized the southernmost tip of Iraq's Fao Peninsula and the small port of the same name. Operation Wal-Fajr 9 amounted to an attempt to advance into the northern Iraqi province of Suleimania with its oil fields.

## A Pump Battle

The capturing of the Fao beachhead has led to a stalemate in the southern sector of the front. This is due primarily to the features of the local terrain. Three roads—one stretching along the Iraqi shore of the Shatt al Arab, the other from Basra and the third from the port of Umm Kasr—lead to Ras al-Bisha Cape (the southernmost tip of the peninsula). These are high earth embankments consolidated in places with crushed stone. A truck, or even a tank, will get stuck in a salt mire if it swerves off any of these roads by as much as one metre.

Under the circumstances, blocking all three "thoroughfares" is easy. Therefore, the Iranians have no chance of exploiting their success on Fao and advancing deeper inland; nor can the Iraqis commit their motorized infantry and tanks to a counterattack. This leaves the Iraqis the alternative of either waiting for the summer heat to set in and dry up the bog until it is hard enough for their tanks, or resorting to some stratagem. Newsmen who have visited the area report that Iraqi engineer troops are trying to pump some of the water out of the "troughs" separating the road embankments, while the Iranians who have gained a foothold on the beachhead are pumping seawater in from the Persian Gulf. There is no telling who will win this "pump battle."

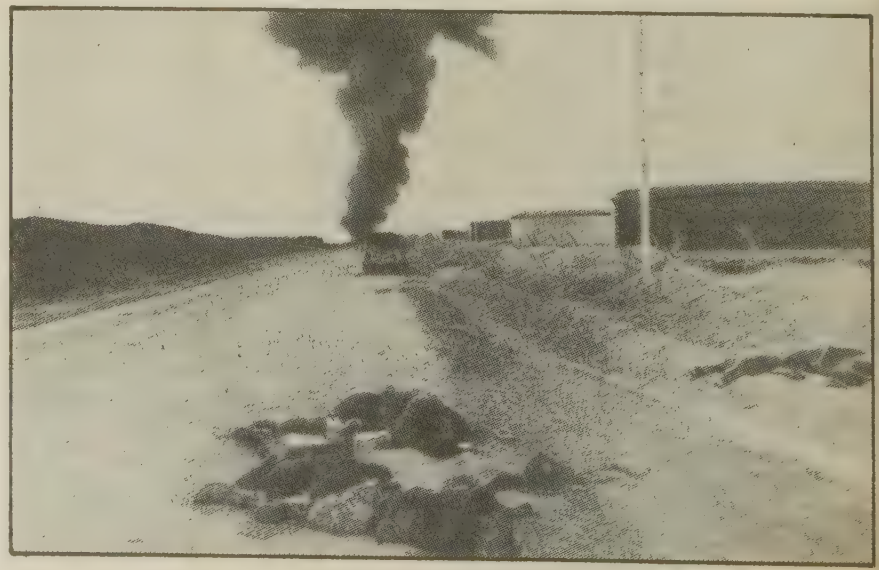
In the meantime, the belligerents are resorting to other methods of warfare as well. Iraq's few warships are locked in to their Umm Kasr base. The only outlet they could use, the Abdullah Strait, is squeezed between the Iranian-occupied coast of the Fao Peninsula and Kuwait-owned Bubiyan Island. Therefore the air arm remains Iraq's main combat force responsible for most of the attacks in the Persian Gulf—on tankers carrying Iranian oil to various destinations, with other objectives not spurned either. Late last March, for instance, an Iraqi flyer fired a missile at—and killed—a stray whale twelve metres long.

The Iranians are not taking all this lying down: according to the Teheran paper Kayhan, they intercepted and searched 600 foreign merchantmen in only two months. Eleven of them proved to be carrying supplies for Iraq, which were confiscated. The magazine Jane's Defence Weekly (London) reports that Iranian ships have started mining the approaches to some ports of Gulf states so as to scare away the tankers coming in for oil and compel them to use Iranian oil-loading terminals instead.

This and many other circumstances have given a number of Western observers grounds for describing the Iran-Iraq armed conflict as "a war over petrodollars." This conclusion is suggested by statements of some politicians as well. Prime Minister Mir Hussein Moussavi of Iran, for instance, publicly announced that one of the main objectives of Operation Wal-Fajr 9 was to bring pressure to bear on the Gulf's oil-producing Arab countries: Iran wants them to reduce their oil output somewhat and thus help maintain high oil prices on the world market.

**In Fao hostilities are going on, oil is burning, blood is flowing.**

Photo from L'Express (France)



Iran is extremely interested in increasing its petroleum export earnings to the maximum. It needs money primarily to carry on hostilities which are already costing the country more than its entire national income. Upon quoting the above-mentioned statement by the head of the Iranian government, Reuters asked: isn't it a vicious circle, with war being fought to make money, and the money being spent on continuing the war?

## Stalemate? This Is Not Chess

The record of the war, now on for almost six years, suggests certain conclusions as to its possible outcome and the potential of either belligerent. Despite the numerous triumphant communiqués issuing from Teheran and Baghdad alike, the odds are obviously in neither belligerent's favour. None of them can boast of territorial acquisitions (except a few dozen square kilometres of salt marsh or a few mountain peaks and rocky gorges in the north) or of having made the other side revise its policy.

The war has brought no strategic novelties to speak of. Tactically, military experts say, it is not much of an advance on World War I, or even on the Boer war for that matter. Iraq's defences, organized in depth, prevent its troops from acting flexibly enough. As for Iran, its military leaders commonly resort to "human wave" tactics: driven to a frenzy by Islamic preachers, crowds of soldiers rush across the minefields and try to suppress the fire-spattering machine-gun emplacements by sheer numbers. As a result, Iran has lost an estimated 700,000 lives out of the war's aggregate toll of about a million.

Iran and Iraq are in fact bleeding each other white, and the petrodollars play by no means the least important role in the war between them.

Iraq, whose petroleum export earnings dropped somewhat early in the war owing to the reduction in trans-Gulf tanker traffic, gradually increased its currency income as a result of putting new oil pipelines into operation and modernizing old ones across Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Between 1981 and 1985 its oil export earnings grew from $8.3 to $11.9 billion. As for Iran, its oil earned it $9.3 billion in 1981, $19.6 billion in 1983, and only $10-11 billion in 1985.

Are these incomes high enough to cover the expenses involved in fighting the war? In the unanimous opinion of foreign experts they are not. London economists estimate Iraq's military spending in 1982 at $12.5 billion—four times the 1979 figure. Over roughly the same period (1980-83) Iran's military spending increased by 1.3 times to reach $5.8 billion. This official Iranian figure, plus the budgets of the Defence Ministry and the Islamic Revolution Guardians corps (to be included for good reason) add up to an impressive total of over $13 billion. Consequently, the war costs each belligerent a billion dollars a month. Oil trade earnings cannot meet expenditure of this order all the more so as oil prices have recently plummeted.

How, then, do Iran and Iraq still manage to bear the monstrous burden of the war of attrition? They resort to different expedients. Iraq raises domestic and foreign loans on a large scale. Furthermore, several Arab regimes are backing Baghdad's war effort out of fear of the "Islamic radicalism" preached by the Iranian leaders. As a result, by 1985 Iraq had run up a foreign debt of at least $40 billion (as against no more than $2 billion in 1979). The government's fund-raising campaign inside the country has brought it up to half a billion dollars in voluntary donations. A certain proportion of the expenditure is made up for in higher taxes.

On the other hand, Iran does not formally borrow money from abroad to fight the war and is even continuing to pay the debts incurred by the Shah's government. Western financial circles believe Iran still owes from $2.5 to $5.3 billion.

The above figures show not only that the war has reached a stalemate. They reveal the ruinous effect of the protracted conflict on both countries' economies. The war has drained the state budget of the funds necessary to carry out more or less important social programmes. Most of the projects which had been launched have been suspended or simply abandoned. Unemployment has assumed enormous proportions. The situation has been further aggravated by the fact that hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled from the war zone and poured into other parts of the country where homes, food and jobs have to be provided for them.

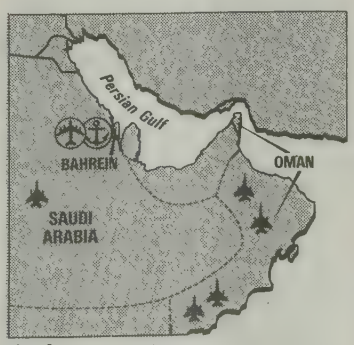
Here is just one fact to give the reader an idea of the position these destitute people have found themselves in. The Majlis has ruled that every Iranian officially recognized as having suffered as a result of hostilities is entitled to a relief payment of 116 rials a month (the official rate of exchange is 80 rials to 1 dollar). However, hundreds of thousands of unregistered nomads and a large proportion of the peasant refugees do not get even that.

## U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE GULF AREA

**U.S. NAVY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Aircraft carriers | 1 |
| (ordered in early May to the waters off Libya) | |
| Nuclear submarines | 3 |
| Military aircraft | 90 |
| Escort vessels | 9 |

**AMERICAN BASTIONS:**




| | |
|---|---|
| In Saudi Arabia | — 1 air base |
| In Oman | — 4 air bases |
| In Bahrein | — 1 airfield, 1 seaport |

## The Classic Question

So what is this war—now relegated to the background by the Western media—all about? Petrodollars? But what quantity of dollars can justify the grief, suffering, tears and blood of the

two neighbouring nations involved in this slaughter? The West claims that the war is a manifestation of some "age-old feud" between Sunnite and Shiite Moslems. However, this feud between the two branches of Islam has never before erupted into a war. The Arabs and Persians, whose blood is now being shed on the battlefields, coexisted peacefully, on the whole, for centuries. So who stands to gain from the continued tragedy? The answer to this classic question alone will shed light on its causes.

Formally, the conflict—for all the crippling losses sustained by the warring sides—can be described as regional or local because only two states are involved in it. However, the war is not abating. It is having an increasingly adverse effect on the international situation as a whole and causing legitimate concern not only in the region but throughout the world as well.

The Soviet Union has defined its attitude to the Iran-Iraq war in no uncertain terms. We have repeatedly urged an end to the conflict as senseless bloodshed which runs counter to the interests of the two nations concerned and impedes efforts to normalize the situation on the planet as a whole. The U.S.S.R. regards peace talks as the only means of settling the conflict. Attempts to wrest any territorial concessions from the other side, to change its political system or its economic policy through armed pressure only serve to protract the war.

The Soviet Union's position differs radically from that of the United States. It is an open secret that Washington seeks to fan hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world and use them to build up its military presence there. What is more, the U.S. Administration is trying to gear every local conflict to its policy of global confrontation with the U.S.S.R. and the socialist community as a whole.

There is ample evidence that the above also applies to the Iran-Iraq war. The American media see the war in the Gulf area through the prism of East-West confrontation. In an article entitled "Lessons of the Iran-Iraq Conflict" the newspaper Philadelphia Inquirer wrote quite openly last November: "Finally, the United States, not the Soviet Union, has thus far reaped diplomatic and strategic benefits from the war."

Indeed, dragging out the bloodshed in the Gulf area benefits U.S. imperialist circles alone, because it helps them carry out their hegemonistic plans. Israel's Zionist rulers are also cashing in on the war. Speaking in the Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that while this war goes on, Israel is threatened with fewer dangers. The Gulf war, Rabin elaborated, deepens divisions among Arabs, "to Israel's great delight."

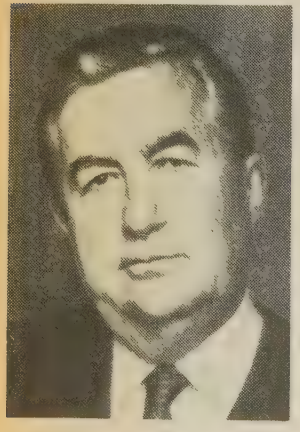
Leonard Bushkoff, an American journalist, writes in the newspaper Boston Globe that Israel and "Arab conservatives" would like the war to last for a hundred years until the last Iraqi kills the last Iranian, or vice versa. Bushkoff enumerates other forces which, in his opinion, benefit from the continuation of the war: international arms merchants and certain oil monopolies. Inside the warring countries themselves, he added, there are circles that are using the protracted conflict to consolidate their positions.

We could add to the Boston Globe journalist's conclusions, which certainly are not groundless, that imperialist circles want Iran and Iraq weakened and, consequently, easier to prey upon. Calls are already being heard in the U.S. for a normalization of relations with Iran undermined after the overthrow of the Shah and the capture of the American embassy in 1979, because Iran is now allegedly "weak enough." Consequently, politicians who do not seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict are actually furthering the interests of American neoglobalism rather than those of their own countries.

As they look into one or other political and economic aspect of the war, few Western experts bother, however, to pay heed to the ordinary people of the two countries. Whereas for many politicians, generals and financiers this is a "pump war," "a petrodollar war" or a "human wave war," for the honest people of the planet, and ordinary Iraqis and Iranians above all, it is a horrible tragedy. A tragedy which could be a prelude to much more dangerous events.

■

## PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE



### JEAN-BERNARD RAIMOND

Jean-Bernard Raimond, appointed Minister for External Relations in Jacques Chirac's government on March 20, 1986, was born on February 6, 1926, into the family of an engineer. A graduate of the Paris Higher Pedagogical School and the National School of Administration, Jean-Bernard Raimond is a career diplomat. He entered the diplomatic service in 1956. In 1968 he was appointed a diplomatic adviser to Georges Pompidou, then Premier, and, after Georges Pompidou was elected President in 1969, held the post of a diplomatic adviser to the President. He accompanied President Pompidou in this capacity during the latter's visits to the U.S.S.R.

Between 1973 and 1977 Jean-Bernard Raimond was French ambassador to Morocco. In 1977-78 he was director of the North Africa and Middle East department at the Ministry for External Relations, and cabinet director under Minister for External Relations Louis de Guiringaud. From 1979 to 1981 he was director-general of the office of cultural, scientific and technical relations at the Ministry for External Relations. From 1982 to 1984 Jean-Bernard Raimond was ambassador to Poland.

From January 1985 to March 1986 Jean-Bernard Raimond was ambassador to the U.S.S.R. In this position he actively promoted the development of Franco-Soviet relations and was involved in preparing for the Franco-Soviet summit in Paris in October 1985.

Jean-Bernard Raimond holds a number of government distinctions. He is married with two daughters.

**A group of Jewish leaders from the United States recently spent three weeks in the Soviet Union. During this special tour for Jewish leaders organized by Intourist (the Soviet foreign travel agency), the group visited the capitals of five republics, as well as Bukhara and Kaunas. At start of the tour, which gave them an opportunity to see a wide variety of aspects of the life of Soviet citizens, particularly those of Jewish nationality, they met members of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion.**

# First-Hand Acquaintance with the Life of Soviet Jews

## Special Tour of the U.S.S.R. by Jewish Leaders

Foreign guests who visit the Anti-Zionist Committee usually ask many questions, general and specific, long and brief, some serious, others eliciting a smile, but all to some extent similar because they result either from complete lack of accurate information about life in the Soviet Union, or from deliberate distortion of such information.

"Why are Jews singled out from the mass of the population by having their nationality entered in their passports? Are there functioning synagogues in the U.S.S.R.? Can a Jew receive higher education? Why is nothing publicly said or written about the tragedy suffered by Jews during the second world war? Can a believing Jew get matzo for Passover?"

Colonel General David Dragunsky, chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee, war veteran and twice Hero of the Soviet Union, his deputies, Professor Samuel Zivs and Mark Krupkin, and clergymen and professionals explained to the guests the basic principles of the Soviet government's policy on the nationalities question and acquainted them with the true state of affairs in this country.

"Yes, there are synagogues, about 100, in the Soviet Union," they told the American guests. "They are all functioning and, like the church in general, are separated from the state. Yes, believers have matzo for Passover. They get it as much as they need from special bakeries.

"It is true that the nationality of Jews is indicated in their passports. But that is the case with all Soviet citizens without exception. Soviet people take pride in the fact that their nationalities are indicated, for in pre-revolutionary times all those who did not profess Christianity were offensively labelled 'alien believers,' which implied a denial of rights."

Constituting only 0.69 per cent of the country's population, Jews hold a leading position among specialists with higher education, the American visitors learned. Yiddish is taught at schools in the Jewish Autonomous Region. The Moscow choral synagogue has a theological school at which Hebrew is studied and rabbis, cantors and reciters of the Torah are trained. Moreover, Hebrew as a philological subject can be studied at three major universities—in Moscow, Leningrad and Tbilisi.

After the talk at the offices of the Anti-Zionist Committee, the Jewish leaders went on a tour which took them to Tashkent, Bukhara, Tbilisi, Kiev, Vilnius, Kaunas and Minsk.

In Kiev, journalists asked the guests to describe their feelings and thoughts on visiting the monument at Babi Yar.

"The tears I shed at Babi Yar were not only for the ones lost there, but for the generation not to be," Louise Hefter said. "Babi Yar is the horror of man's inhumanity to man. It is a prayer for peace between all nations."

Haldor Reinhold remarked that at Babi Yar he felt with particular force the sources of the earnest desire for peace that motivates the Soviet people.

"As a Jewish supporter of the peace movement," Alvin Fishman observed, "I want to end the shame of Israel behaving like the murderers in Babi Yar. As an American, I pledge all my energy to changing the policies of my government to one of peace."

And this from Morris Parker: "I admire the Soviet Union for its powerful stand against fascism and its splendid recovery from the horror of war."

In Kiev synagogue, the guests talked with Mikhail Katz, leader of the religious community, a war veteran and retired medical corps captain.

Katz spoke at length about the life of believers in the Soviet Union. He asked the guests to convey shalom and wishes of peace and happiness to American Jews. Let them not worry about us, Mikhail Katz added. We are free to profess our religion and exercise our rights. And, above all, we are free forever from anti-Semitism, which was rampant under tsarism, its terrible pogroms, and the horrors nazism brought to our country.

Before the guests left for the United States, members of the Moscow Jewish Drama Company, the Freilehs Song and Dance Company, and the Jewish Chamber Music Theatre from Birobidzhan gave a big concert in their honour. The leaders of the companies and the theatre, which included director Yakov

**The Tbilisi Sinagogue Museum.**

Photo by V. Chaban-Zade

Gubenko and composer Mikhail Gluz, told the guests about their repertoires, which inlcude Jewish and world classical plays, folk dances and folk songs, and the works of modern Soviet and foreign writers and musicians.

When, carried away by the performance of a song in memory of Jews killed in the war, the audience rose stirred by a common impulse, the American guests, as one of them said, were once again convinced that the memory of all the victims of nazism is venerated in the Soviet Union. On the whole, said Florence Gutman from New York, summing up the general opinion, it was hard to imagine a finer culmination to the visit than the splendid arts festival in Moscow.

Had their stay in the Soviet Union convinced the American guests of the truth of the replies to their questions at the offices of the Anti-Zionist Committee before the start of the tour? Here is what members of the group said at the farewell press conference in the Cosmos Hotel.

**Roy Kaufman, head of the group, Cleveland, Ohio**

Unfortunately, the American public are told many things that turned out not to be the case.

We were told that teaching Yiddish in the families was banned and that publications in Yiddish did not exist. That is not the case. We have seen them with our own eyes and had them in our hands.

Jewish organizations in the United States are collecting money to ensure that Soviet Jews could get matzo. In some of the cities we went to synagogues unannounced and found they were making matzo there.

I talked with many Jews in the Soviet Union. I have not been able to come across any persecution of any Jewish people because of the nationality, or discrimination in respect to jobs, earning and the relationship with other people.

Everywhere we went we were told that the number one desire of all Soviet people is peace in the world. Your people suffered much during the war. All your nationalities, Jewish included, combined their efforts against the nazis.

We came back with a different attitude to the Soviet Union and a better understanding of its multinational policy. It is amazing that such a variety of different nationalities come along in harmony and without conflict on such a vast territory under the same government.

**Alvin Fishman, Detroit, Michigan**

For me, before this journey began, the so-called issue of Soviet anti-Semitism was an issue of the struggle for peace, because in the United States this issue is one of the primary means of undermining détente and poisoning the atmosphere between our two countries.

I did not meet any discrimination of Jews in the Soviet Union. I found to my satisfaction that any religious person has the opportunity in the Soviet Union to pursue his religious preferences and beliefs, provided he has enough compatriots to support that view. We saw in some cities synagogues that have support in the country and were doing very well. On the other hand, there was some city in which the base of support towards this activity was small, and therefore it was difficult for the believers to keep the rabbi.

I should definitely include culture in my observations of religious life in the U.S.S.R. During our visit we were able to see at first hand the growth and flowering of this dimension of Jewish life. I am speaking about the national cultures of the entire Soviet Union—Ukrainian, Georgian, Lithuanian, and Jewish too. I have seen Soviet editions in Yiddish, Jewish classics in different languages, an excellent ABC book in Yiddish.

I would love to see a tour in the United States of Soviet cultural groups which keep and develop Jewish culture.

**A. GUREVICH and A. NIKOLENKO**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"I have no worse enemies than the foes of the people's happiness!" No sooner had actor Ramon Herrera spoken these final words of the leading character in the play "Artigas" than an ovation rocked the theatre. The overflow audience rose in enthusiastic tribute to the company that produced this signal departure in the Uruguayan theatrical life of recent years.

The production was dedicated to the Uruguayan national hero of last century who raised the banner of struggle against Spanish colonial rule. José Gervasio Artigas became for the people of his country a symbol of love of freedom, the spirit of rebellion, striving for democracy, for which the people of this South American country fought indefatigably through the grim years of military dictatorship.

"Artigas" is a retrospect of the struggle waged by the incipient nation against the Spanish monarchy, the emergence of its statehood, the birth of its democratic traditions. At the same time it brings back the years of the reactionary dictatorship and the hardships it spelled for the people. It is a passionate indictment of all forms of colonialism and dictatorship.

The play was the Galpon Theatre's first performance on the Uruguayan stage after eight and a half years of exile.

### The Beginning

The first semi-professional "independent" theatres in Uruguay, as in some other Latin American countries, came into being in the forties. They were free from the tutelage of municipalities and not dependent on government institutions. They could choose their own repertoires. But this also meant that they received no subsidies or any other kind of official material assistance. They subsisted mainly on meagre donations from art lovers and the enthusiasm of young actors eager to bring the truth to the people from the stage.

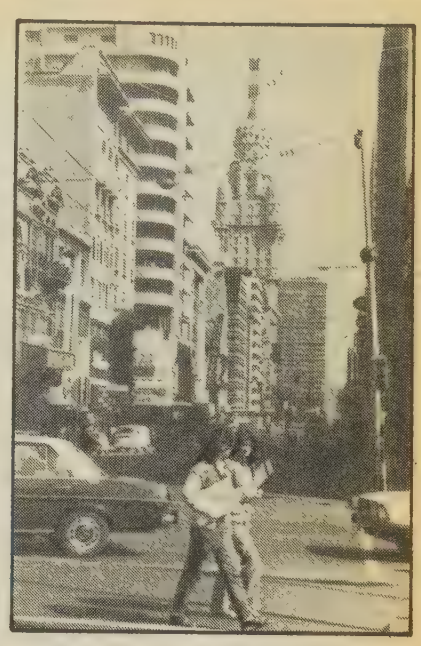
The founders of these independent theatres were at once the producers, stage hands, artists and actors. They worked in the most difficult conditions, usually in small premises ill-fitted for theatrical purposes. Many of the companies could not withstand the competition of state-funded theatres, but those that survived became serious and in some cases the leading theatrical companies in their countries. This applies above all to the Galpon.

Galpon is Spanish for "barn." Why the rather curious name? I put this question to the veteran Uruguayan

This much-loved Uruguayan theatre company can be proud of having helped by its work to speed the success of the people's struggle against the military dictatorship

# The Indomitable Galpon

ANATOLY MEDVEDENKO



**July 18 Avenue in downtown Montevideo.**

**At the entrance to the Galpon Theatre.**

theatrical director Atahualpa del Cioppo, one of the theatre's founders and still one of its directors.

"When the founders, mostly students, first met, the question of premises naturally came up," del Cioppo said. "One of us remembered that close to where he lived there was an abandoned barn that seemed to belong to no one and suggested that it be used. Since there was no other way out the idea was supported. It was then that the name was chosen."

Needless to say, it took some time to get things started. Not only because of all the work that had to be done to make the dilapidated barn usable for performances. There were also more complex problems.

The theatre opened its doors on December 4, 1951. Recalling the initial period, del Cioppo said it did not have an easy time finding a response from the audience for which it was intended—students and democratic-minded young people in general. Many of them were unmoved by the performances. "Soon," he said, "we realized what the trouble was. We were adhering to the traditional manner of the Uruguayan theatre of the time, staging plays which, if not pure entertainment, were of a light-weight character, avoiding pressing problems. Our spectator, we realized, wanted something different. He expected us to deal with vital issues facing the country and the world, provide answers to the questions uppermost in his mind. Gradually subject matter of this order came to underlie our repertoire."

One of the theatre's biggest successes was Lope de Vega's "La Fuente Ovejuna," which Federico Garcia Lorca called the most democratic of all Spanish plays, having in mind its popular roots and the powerful expression it gives to the striving of the masses for freedom and justice. It was in this key that director Larreta staged the production, bringing out its relevance to Uruguayan realities and presenting it in the language of his time.

The production was enthusiastically received. The premiere actually developed into a lively discussion lasting for hours in which the spectators and actors examined not only the merits of the play but also the urgent problems that faced the Uruguayan people.

The play underscored the basic message of the theatre, the main content of its creative quests, its popular spirit, dedication to democracy and protest against social injustice. These motifs found expression also in other outstanding productions—plays by Bertolt Brecht, Bernard Shaw, Arthur Miller, Eugene O'Neill and the Uruguayan authors Mario Benedetti and Alfredo Gravina.

Mention must also be made of the role of the Galpon Theatre in popularizing Russian classics. It introduced to the Uruguayans almost all of Anton Chekhov's plays and many of Maxim Gorky's.

The popularity of the theatre grew rapidly. Every performance drew a full house. The "barn" was no longer big enough and a larger auditorium had to be found. But this was easier said than done. Galpon was a success, but not commercially. Its material position remained unchanged. Nor could it change, considering the character and purpose of the theatre and the audience it catered to.

The progressive youth, students, high school pupils and young workers, who made up its steady and grateful

**The progressive art of today's Uruguay takes many forms. Its themes are topical. "No to the economic blockade of Nicaragua!" says the caption to the painting on the concrete wall.**

Photos by Georgi Kuznetsov

audience, came to the rescue. They organized the collection of money, and premises were rented on July 18 Avenue in downtown Montevideo. Working in their free time, young people fitted out a hall seating 600 and other necessary facilities, and the theatre turned over a new page in its history. Everything seemed to be going well when the blow fell.

## Exile

On June 27, 1973, a military coup was staged in Uruguay. The reactionary military seized power in this country with long-standing traditions of bourgeois democracy. The generals dissolved Congress, annulled the Constitution, and banned all political parties and democratic trade unions.

A reign of terror was let loose. Progressive cultural workers were hounded. Hundreds of writers, artists, musicians and journalists had to leave the country to escape persecution.

Theatrical directors were required to submit every play they proposed to produce to a committee of military censors. A list was published of authors whose work was not allowed to be staged; it included Chekhov, Gorky, Brecht, and practically all Uruguayan playwrights.

At first the Galpon managed to evade the censorship barriers by staging the ancient classics, with only vague indirect references to pressing problems. But this did not last long. The authorities banned three plays in succession and threatened to arrest the directors if they did not obey the order. When the Galpon persisted, the junta closed the theatre, and Ruben Yañes, Atahualpa del Cioppo, Cesar Campodonico—all leading Uruguayan directors and members of the theatre's art council—were summoned to the censorship committee to "explain."

Prohibited from staging regular plays, the actors used every opportunity to reach their audience, giving concert performances and poetry readings, and putting on sketches. Each of these was an exposé of the despotism of the military, a call to fight for democracy.

On May 7, 1976, the junta issued a decree banning the activity of the Galpon "for all time." The company was disbanded, the property of the theatre, including the sets and even the small collective savings in the bank, was confiscated.

But, as one of Mikhail Bulgakov's characters exclaimed, "manuscripts do not burn!" True art cannot be banned by decree. The company emigrated in toto to Mexico where a month later it resumed performances. Progressive Mexican organizations and friends of the theatre rendered it invaluable assistance.

In its 3,022 days in exile, the Galpon staged more than 25 new productions, gave 2,200 performances for about a million spectators. And not only in the towns and villages of Mexico. It played for audiences in Costa Rica and Italy, Ecuador and Spain, the U.S. and Argentina, Cuba and Canada. And everywhere its performances were a great success, as is testified by its numerous awards. It won the Mexican association of theatre critics award for the best foreign company in 1977; the Brazilian Writers' Association Prize for its contribution to the free culture of the continent; the prestigious Venezuelan Ollanatai Prize awarded by the Caracas Ateneo Club for promoting the theatrical art of Latin America; the Costa Rican Ministry of Culture Prize, and many others.

## The Truth Cannot Be Banned

But the reward most valued by the theatre, as one of its directors, Ruben Yañes, observed, was the victory of the Uruguayan people over the military dictatorship. In 1984 the junta was forced to announce its intention to transfer power to a civilian government. The Galpon Theatre had helped to hasten this victory.

On October 12, 1984, the company returned to Montevideo. It was met at Carrasco airport by thousands of people. And on October 21, on the stage of the Astral Theatre where it was temporarily housed, the Galpon gave its first performance for its compatriots after forced exile. It was Aristophanes' comedy "Plutus," which had been chosen because formally the power still remained in the hands of the military and the ban on the Galpon had not been lifted. But it had already been decided that as soon as the ban was removed the theatre would present its programme play "Artigas," which it had staged in Mexico.

On March 1, 1985, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, leader of the Colorado Party which won the November 1984 elections, became President of Uruguay. One of the new government's first decrees legalized the Communist Party of Uruguay and other democratic organizations as well as the trade unions. The same decree restored all the legal and property rights of the Galpon Theatre. This was recognition of the theatre as one of the most important factors of the popular struggle.

And before long the Uruguay premiere performance of "Artigas" was given at the theatre on July 18 Avenue.

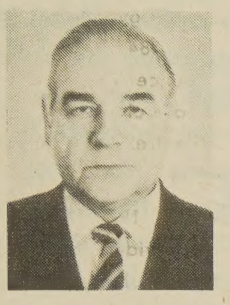
Since then there have been other productions, new creative quests and successes. The theatre has remained true to its mission—through the medium of art to affirm the people's right to happiness and freedom.

■

# TAKING UP A POINT

**I read in the papers that experts representing the countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act are meeting in Bern to discuss people-to-people contacts and that a Soviet delegation is taking part. I have no idea what your representatives are saying there, but it is a well-known fact that it is precisely the U.S.S.R. that is obstructing contacts between people, marriages between nationals of different countries, family reunions, and so on. I would say that this is not democratic.**

**Enrico BIANCHI**
Palermo, Italy



**Human rights expert VSEVOLOD SOFINSKY replies:**

True enough, there is a Soviet delegation at the conference of experts on human contacts. Moreover, it has definite instructions to do its utmost to help make the meeting as fruitful as possible. Regrettably, you appear to have taken at face value what the enemies of the Soviet Union say about our attitude to these contacts. Let us take a look at the facts.

In the ten years since the signing of the Final Act some 40 million Soviet tourists have travelled abroad and millions of citizens of other countries have been to the U.S.S.R. The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Foreign Countries and organizations affiliated with it maintain constant contact with public organizations in more than 140 countries. Our Youth Organizations Committee has close connections with youth, students' and children's organizations in more than 150 countries, and the Soviet trade unions, with the trade union centres in 145 countries.

I should like to draw your attention to existing Soviet legislation relating to the question now being discussed in Bern. Take, for instance, the law introduced in 1981 on the legal status of foreign nationals residing in the Soviet Union. For all practical purposes it equates all foreigners in permanent residence with Soviet citizens as regards employment, rest and recreation facilities, medical care, housing, and education. Many of the rights guaranteed Soviet citizens are enjoyed under the law also by foreign nationals in temporary residence in the U.S.S.R.

You allege that Moscow obstructs marriages between Soviet citizens and citizens of other countries. The fact, however, is that our legislation raises no barriers to marriages between Soviet citizens and citizens of other countries, apart from such generally recognized exceptions as cases involving individuals suffering from mental derangement or psychic disturbances. In some countries there are many more impediments, including property qualifications and religious restrictions.

As regards family reunions, I would like to say this: we stand for a positive and humanitarian approach to this problem. However, the question of emigration on the strength of family ties cannot be resolved automatically. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Act, and other international documents underscore the inseparable link between the rights and **duties** of citizens. Cases of refusal of exit visas are bound to occur so long as military confrontation, the need for states to protect their military secrets, and, lastly, crime exist.

Consistently observing the Helsinki agreements, the Soviet Union has unilaterally taken measures to promote people-to-people contacts. Regulations governing travel to and from the U.S.S.R. have been amended to simplify the procedure. Fees have been reduced, applications for entry and exit visas are handled more speedily, and no visas are required for passengers of Soviet and foreign cruise ships who wish to land at ports of call, or for foreign transit airline passengers at stopovers. Customs formalities have been simplified. The Soviet Union has reciprocal agreements with many countries (yours included) with regard to travel without visas, to visas for repeated use, and on consular questions.

Who, then, is really impeding contacts? Let us again turn to facts.

Regular airline flights between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. were recently resumed. Four years ago they were suspended, and not by the Soviet Union. Yet all contacts begin with travel facilities. The authorities of your country have recourse to another device: they often delay for months the issuance of visas to Aeroflot crews flying to Italy as well as to conductors of Soviet Moscow-Rome railway coaches.

U.S. immigration regulations deny entry into the U.S. to 33 categories of foreign nationals, including relatives of American citizens. Among the undesirables are people who subscribe to "economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism."

On the basis of the MacCarran-Walter Act passed in the heyday of McCarthyism and the Internal Security Act, the U.S. authorities raise obstacles to the entry into the U.S. of progressives and representatives of democratic organizations of various countries. Soviet trade union delegations are systematically denied visas. Only the other day a group of Cuban doctors was not let into the country — evidently they presented a threat to U.S. security!

The promotion of contacts is certainly not facilitated by hostile actions such as that undertaken in March against the U.S.S.R. and several other socialist countries when the U.S. arbitrarily demanded a reduction in the personnel of their United Nations missions. Suffice it also to recall such outrageous actions as the forcible detention in Western countries of minors, including Soviet children, and the abduction of Soviet citizens, which has latterly become more frequent.

Thus, there are no few barriers to the promotion of contacts. But we want to see these obstacles removed, and hope that the Bern conference will contribute to this.

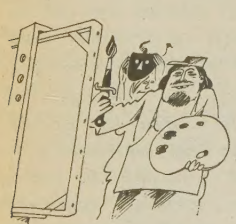
■

# POSTSCRIPT

## At the Partners' Expense

Washington, the Japanese newspaper Nihon Keizai notes, is suggesting to its allies that a $20-30 billion fund to aid the Middle East be set up on the model of the notorious Marshall Plan. However, the proposal provoked consternation at the Tokyo summit because, whereas the U.S. itself subsidized the Marshall Plan, this time Japan, Britain, France and other capitalist countries are also being asked to chip in. However, Washington's purpose, the paper observes, is "to remedy the Arab attitude to the U.S. which hit an all-time low after the U.S. raid on Libya."

## "Authentic Works of Fake Art"



In Italy 300 top fakers of old masters have decided to start a gallery in Cremona to openly sell faked works of art. Each picture will be provided with a certificate confirming that it is "an authentic work of fake art." However, this unusual move has been coolly received by art connoisseurs, who with good reason suspect the fakers of wishing to advertise their own work. As one gallery owner has said: "I wouldn't mind betting that their commissions from criminal dealers will treble."

## In the Red from the Cradle

Notwithstanding or rather due to large annual handouts in U.S. economic and military aid, Turkey is still one of the ten states with the biggest external debt, which now totals over $25 billion. According to the Turkish newspaper Sabah, every infant is born with a debt of 350,000 Turkish lire, or roughly 7 times more than a workingman's average monthly pay. At the present rate of production, the paper adds, the country will never be out of the red.

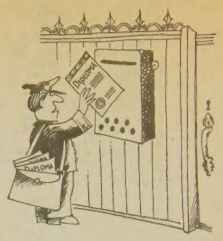
## Figures That Speak for Themselves

South Africa's four biggest firms—the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Mutual, Sanlam and Rembrandt—own 80 per cent of the stock quoted on the Johannesburg Exchange. The first of the four owns over 54 per cent, totalling 151 billion rands, or 26 per cent of the national income. However, the brunt of taxation is borne by the poor, with 25 million, mostly blacks, contributing 57 per cent of the total levied. Meanwhile the mining companies account for a mere 14.2 per cent and manufacturing firms, for under 30 per cent—according to official statistics, in reality, these firms pay less. Citing these figures, South African economists conclude that social inequality is very marked in their country.

## Fake Cavemen

When Stone Age cavemen were discovered on Mindanao in the Philippines in the 1970s, the news media contended that this was "the ethnological find of the century." Now, however, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung reports, the discovery has turned out to be a hoax, specially organized for political advertisement by Marcos' aide, Minister Manuel Elizalde, who forced "local peasants to live in caves." It seems that the minister and his family controlled considerable business interests in the area.

## 12,000 Dupes a Year



For a long time British newspapers carried an item advertising the sale of diplomas from the private Swiss Université de la Romande for 2,000 Swiss francs. However, according to the West Berlin Tagesspiegel, a recent inquiry found that the requests, mailed to the city of Zug, as specified in the advertisement, were readdressed to confidence tricksters based in Britain, who had thus duped some 12,000 people annually.

## Secure Your Doors!

The London Observer tenders advice of how to guard against burglars, and with good reason, as every year one in 25 houses in Britain is burgled, with only 13 per cent of the stolen goods retrieved and returned to the victims.

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Drawings
by N. Shcherbakov

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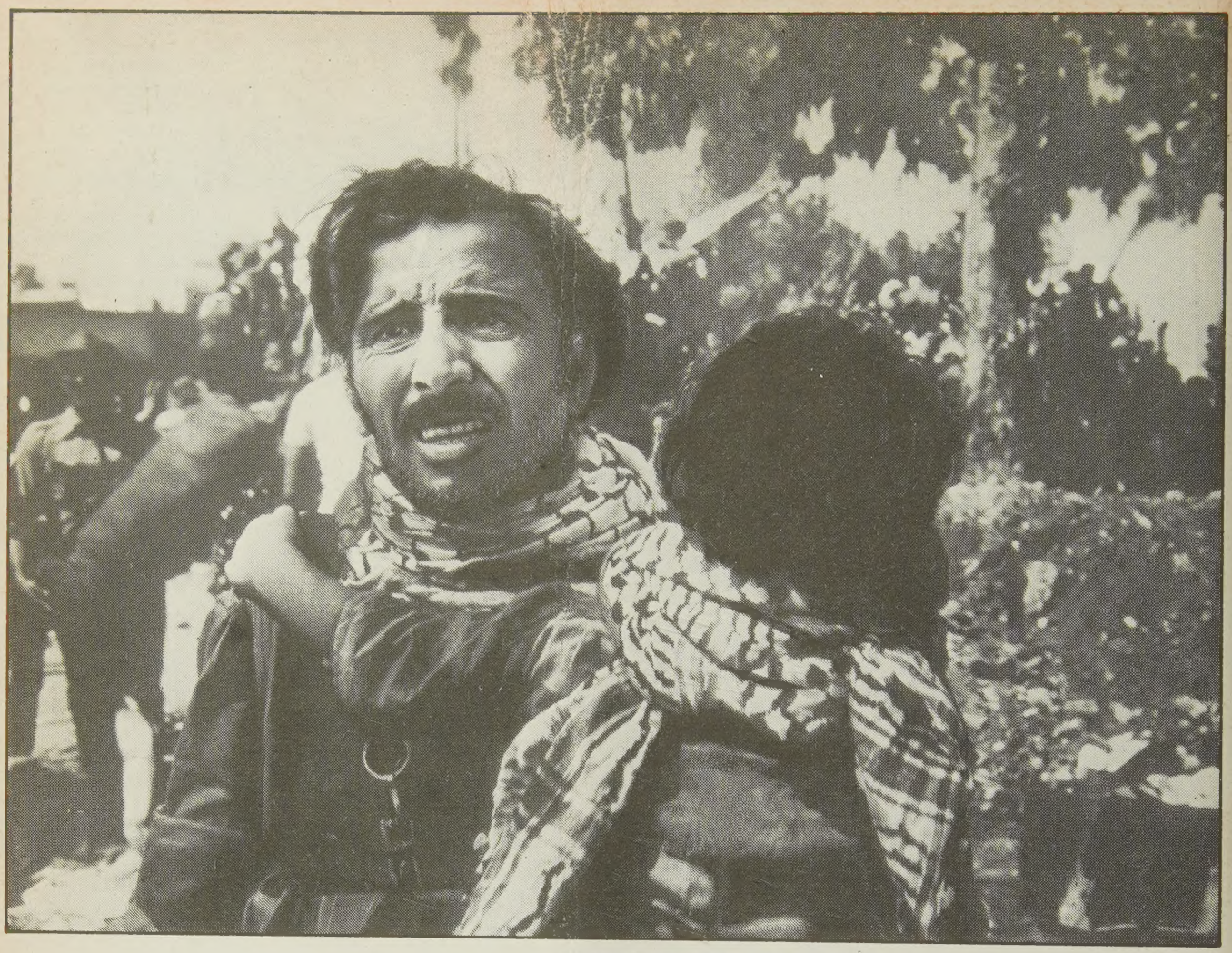
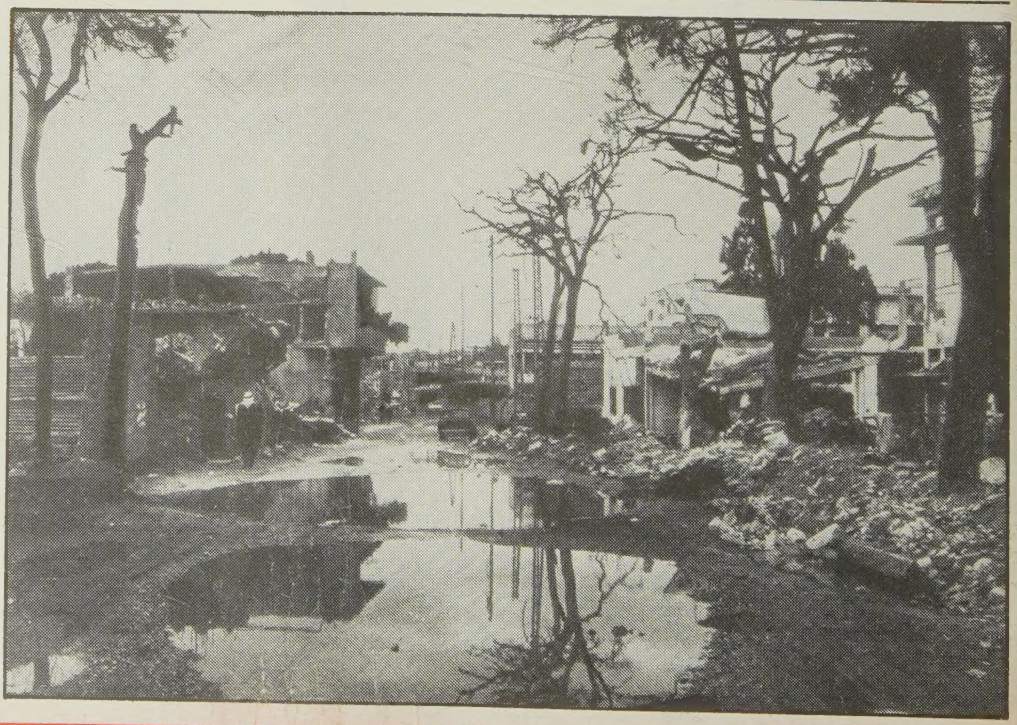


## Photos by Liina SARASTE (Finland)

# INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE CONTEST OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND GRAPHIC ART



These pictures were taken by a well-known Finnish journalist in Lebanon at camps for Palestinian refugees, whom the Israeli invaders have deprived of their homeland.

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